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THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS

BEING AN OUTLINE OF
THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH
FROM A.D. 98 TO A.D. 461

BY THE REV.

LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF S. JOHN BAPTIST COLLEGE, OXFORD
AND GENERAL EDITOR OF THE OXFORD CHURCH TEXT-BOOKS

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EDITORIAL NOTE

WHILE there is a general agreement among the writers as to principles, the greatest freedom as to treatment is allowed to writers in this series. The volumes, for example, are not of the same length. Volume II., which deals with the formative period of the Church, is, not unnaturally, longer in proportion than the others. The authors, again, use their own discretion in such matters as footnotes and lists of authorities. But the aim of the series, which each writer sets before him, is to tell, clearly and accurately, the story of the Church, as a divine institution with a continuous life.

W. H. HUTTON

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IT has become a common practice for those who are beginning the study of Church History to give equal attention to the period which precedes the conversion of Constantine and the period which includes the first four Œcumenical Councils. Consequently this book is divided into two equal parts at the close of chapter xvi. on page 222. It begins with the death of the last apostle of our Lord, and it ends with the labours of S. Leo and S. Patrick, who both exercised so profound an influence on Western Christendom.

The author has included as many references to original authorities as the space permits, and more particularly to the Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius and Socrates. Effort has been made to keep each chapter abreast with recent investigations, both English and foreign, so that it may more worthily represent "the mother of the saints, the image of the city that is on high, and the perpetual guardian of the Blood that knoweth no corruption."

L. PULLAN

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

IN preparing the Third Edition, the Author has been able, by the kindness of a friend, to correct several small mistakes which previously escaped his notice.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I	
Christianity and its Rivals	1
CHAPTER II	
Inner Life of the Church, A.D. 98-155	15
CHAPTER III	
The Persecution of the Church, A.D. 98–192	30
CHAPTER IV	
The Perversion of Christianity	44
CHAPTER V	
Pretended Reformations	57
CHAPTER VI	
The Defence of the Church against Paganism	69
CHAPTER VII	
The Defence of the Church against Heresy	85
CHAPTER VIII	
Church and State, A.D. 193–250	99
CHAPTER IX	
Three Typical Theologians	113
CHAPTER X	
Rome and Controversy	127
CHAPTER XI	
Origen and his Successors	142
CHAPTER XII	
Decius, Valerian, and S. Cyprian	156
CHAPTER XIII	
Environment of the Church, A.D. 260–303	169
CHAPTER XIV	
Organisation of the Church, A.D. 180–300	181

PAGE

CHAPTER XV
CHURCH LAW AND WORSHIP 195

CHAPTER XVI
RELIGIOUS POLICY OF DIOCLETIAN . . . 209

CHAPTER XVII
CONSTANTINE, PAGANISM, AND DONATISM . . . 223

CHAPTER XVIII
CONSTANTINE AND ARIANISM 237

CHAPTER XIX
THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE 250

CHAPTER XX
JULIAN AND CULTURE 264

CHAPTER XXI
FROM JULIAN TO THEODOSIUS 277

CHAPTER XXII
THEODOSIUS: HEATHENISM: HERESY . . . 291

CHAPTER XXIII
THE CLERGY AND MONASTICISM 310

CHAPTER XXIV
THE GREAT SEES AND ORIGENISM . . . 327

CHAPTER XXV
S. AUGUSTINE AND HIS WORK 344

CHAPTER XXVI
NESTORIANISM AND EUTYCHIANISM . . . 363

CHAPTER XXVII
ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH 382

CHAPTER XXVIII
SOCIAL LIFE AND WORSHIP 400

CHAPTER XXIX
MISSIONS A.D. 325 TO 461 425

INDEX 445

THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RIVALS

WHEN S. John was laid to rest in his grave at Ephesus, about A.D. 98, the apostolic age was closed. Perhaps there were still a few aged men and women who could just remember the Lord Jesus. But their names are unknown to us with the possible exception of Aristion and John the Presbyter, whom Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Asia Minor, mentions as disciples of the Lord. But if the recollection of the Lord's life was now almost gone, the knowledge of that life was spreading every day. We know the names of at least thirty-nine towns where the gospel was known about A.D. 100, and among them were the great cities of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Ephesus. In spite of the most violent opposition from the Jews, Christianity had established itself in many places in Palestine and Syria. It was spreading with marvellous rapidity through the different provinces of Asia Minor; Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Phrygia possessing numerous Christian communities. The East of Europe was dotted with Churches, Athens, Corinth, and Thessalonica being among

Expansion of the Church.

the centres of the faith. How far the West of Europe was affected by Christianity it is less easy to say. But it is almost certain that the gospel had been preached in Spain, which was the most Roman part of the empire beyond the borders of Italy. And in Rome itself the cross was firmly planted. The awful persecution of the Christians in A.D. 64, when multitudes were crucified or thrown to the lions in the circus of Nero, close to the site of the present church of S. Peter, had not exterminated Christianity. Persecution had acted as an advertisement for the truth, and recruits for the army of God had been enlisted even in the emperor's family.

The fact that Christianity won converts among the well-educated and aristocratic classes long before it received any favour from the State is one of the most interesting features of early Christian history. It is quite true that until about A.D. 180 such converts must have been few in number. The apostles had lived as poor men, and the Church had always shown a special care for the poor and the unfortunate. Widows and orphans, slaves and captives, the sick and the dying, had their special places in the Church's heart. And the close connection between almsgiving and public worship was a solemn recognition of the fact that the gospel is a gospel of love and mutual help. But it is a great mistake to suppose that Christianity only appealed to the ignorant. It seems to have always secured some intellectual converts, just as it does now in India and Japan. And we are able to illustrate this fact by the strong contrast which is shown by a rival form of religion, that of Mithras.

The old religion of Rome was slowly breaking up.

It had never been of a very high character, and though the official worship of the old Roman gods was still scrupulously conducted in public, the people who cared for religion were seldom satisfied with it, and in private life they were turning to gods of a different kind. Among these was Mithras, the Persian sun-god, whose worship had been brought from the East by Roman soldiers. The religion of Mithras had many things in its favour. It coincided with the growing desire to worship one god only, or at least one god exalted above all others. It had interesting and impressive rites. It promised immortality to its faithful adherents. And it came from the far East, which possessed the same fascination for many ancient Romans as for many modern Englishmen. And yet the religion of Mithras seems to have made no way among the well-educated classes. Recent studies in the history of this interesting creed have proved that wherever the language and the culture of Greece were a living force, Mithras found no home. The people of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Egypt, Palestine, and certain provinces of Asia Minor shut their doors against the Persian sun-god. These were among the most cultured parts of the empire, and it was in these provinces that Christianity won the readiest welcome. In the West, on the contrary, the worship of Mithras had been carried far and wide by Oriental slaves and Roman soldiers by A.D. 180, and the army also carried it into the barbarous regions of Eastern Europe along the Danube. A great impetus was given to the cult by combining it with the worship of the emperor, who in the third century of the Christian era was actually said to be "consubstantial with the sun." Rome then

Mithras worship.

became the centre of Mithraic rites, which seem in some cases to have been a deliberate imitation of Christian ceremonies. But even there, when supported by the imperial favour of Galerius, the new god was powerless against Christ, who conquered Mithras as He had conquered Jupiter and Pan:—

> "By the love He stood alone in
> His sole Godhead rose complete,
> And the false gods fell down moaning,
> Each from off his golden seat;
> All the false gods with a cry
> Rendered up their deity."[1]

It had been the usual policy of the Roman State to tolerate and even to encourage the religions of the nations which Rome conquered. No man who numbers one hundred gods in his Pantheon can reasonably object to worshipping one hundred and one. And if the Christians had been willing that Christ should be counted among "gods many and lords many," we may be sure that in a few years' time the statue of our Lord would have been carried in processions through the streets of Rome with as much ceremony as that of the Egyptian goddess Isis. But the rigid Monotheism of the Christians was very distasteful to the Greek and Roman world. There was a philosophic tendency among thoughtful pagans to believe in one supreme God, and this tendency is very marked in the second and third centuries. But this philosophic Monotheism was not strict Monotheism. It tried to find room for the popular deities. Thus Celsus, Maximus of Tyre, Porphyry, all leading representatives of this type, united in upholding the exist-

[1] Mrs. Browning, *The Dead Pan.*

ence of demi-gods, "satraps," or representatives of the Supreme. In fact, Porphyry, in discussing the Christian doctrine of the "monarchia," or sovereign unity of God, affirms that he, too, believes that God is a "monarch," but that God would not be a true monarch unless He ruled over other gods—just as Hadrian would not have been a monarch if he had ruled over sheep and not ruled over other men.[1]

Why, then, did the Roman State tolerate Judaism? One reason was that it was obviously very difficult not to tolerate so compact a religious body. The other reason was that Jewish Monotheism was not particularly dangerous, because it was clothed in an intensely national and non-Roman dress. It was considered improbable that it would become popular. Judaism was secured from persecution by its separateness on the condition that it remained separate. The Jews, however, were often zealous missionaries, though they were forbidden to make converts.

Rome and the Jews.

Christianity, therefore, had not only to do battle with new forms of heathenism. It checked, and before long supplanted, an active Jewish propaganda. It even carried war into the enemy's camp. The Acts of the Apostles shows us that during the early days of Christianity there must have been many Jewish converts to the faith. There were Churches scattered through Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria, and in Jerusalem many Pharisees and priests were converted. A very ancient tradition, which is not at all likely to have been invented, says that S. Mark cut off his own

[1] Macarius Magnes, iv. 20.

thumb in order that he might escape the duty of acting as a Jewish priest. But though such converts were won, and though they may have occasionally been respected by some of the Jews, the opposition of the Jews was a foregone conclusion. The story of S. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, is a case in point. It shows that even a strict devotion to the kind of life which was approved by Jewish piety could not remove the odium incurred by the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah. Although reverenced by the people he was stoned to death in A.D. 62 at the instigation of the high-priest Ananus, a bigoted Sadducee. And when the great war between the Jews and the Romans broke out and Jerusalem was destroyed, A.D. 70, the break between the Jewish Christians and their unbelieving kinsmen became decisive. For the Christians profited by our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the holy city, and leaving the infatuated fanatics of Jerusalem withdrew to Pella in Peraea.

Hideous as was the fate of the massacred or enslaved Hebrews of Judaea, Judaism was far from being eradicated. Judaism hardly began to slacken its missionary efforts until the second revolt and second destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 135, when the Christians had already shown that they were the missionaries of the future. In the meantime the Jews were able to appeal to those thoughtful Gentiles who were desirous of a religion with no temple and no statue or symbol of a divine presence. They were able to do what Philo had done in the time of our Lord, that is, to represent Judaism as a philosophic religion with a sacred book of peculiar antiquity and

value. The Jewish historian Josephus[1] says that at this time the Jews "brought a great multitude of Greeks to their service of God, and made them in a certain sense a part of themselves." The opportunities for such action were plentiful. The Jews swarmed around the Mediterranean, especially in Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. In Egypt they numbered one million in the time of Philo, and in Rome in the reign of Tiberius they numbered 10,000 or more. They taught that there is one God, and that He is a Spirit, and they upheld His moral laws. And though the number of thorough proselytes, who actually submitted to circumcision, was comparatively small, the number of converts who bound themselves to observe certain laws and to renounce idolatry was large. Josephus boasts of it and Seneca laments it. And the number of Gentiles who found pleasure in a superstitious observance of certain Jewish rites, without definitely renouncing paganism, was probably quite as large as the number of those who promised to fulfil the moral law.

Jews versus Christians.

But the Christians quickly absorbed the Gentiles who would otherwise have been influenced by Judaism. They proclaimed the same philosophic belief in one Divine Spirit, they affirmed that they were the true children of Abraham, they demanded no circumcision, and they gave every baptised Gentile his full status as God's free man instead of leaving him in the somewhat ill-defined position occupied by the Jewish proselytes. Moreover, the Christians were able to take advantage of

[1] *Bell.* vii. 3, 3.

the Greek culture which the Jews had already assimilated, and to employ the Greek translation of the Old Testament which the Jews had already made. Against these superior advantages the Jews had no chance of success. They realised the probability of their own failure and opposed Christianity with a diabolical energy. S. John, when he refers to "the synagogue of Satan," shows that he had already suffered from an experience of those methods to which both Jewish and Christian literature testify. The independent witness of Justin Martyr and of ancient documents quoted by Eusebius, affirms that the Jews despatched missionaries from Jerusalem to all parts of the world to denounce Christianity as atheism. In places where the Christians still worshipped in the synagogues an effort was made to keep them out of the pulpit. They were accused of practising *cishshuf* or magical deception, and it was said that at Capernaum they so completely bewitched a prominent Jew as to cause him to ride upon an ass on the Sabbath. At the martyrdom of S. Polycarp at Smyrna in A.D. 155 the Jews were eager in bringing faggots to burn the aged bishop, and at the martyrdom of Pionius, who suffered at Smyrna in A.D. 250,[1] the Jews were again to the fore. Prayers against the Christian "Minim," or heretics, were inserted in the service of the synagogue, and as late as the fourth century the Jews were in the habit of cursing their Christian kinsfolk, the Nazarenes, three times a day.

In Asia Minor and in Rome the majority of the

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 15, wrongly states that Pionius died about the same time as Polycarp.

Jewish Christians were soon absorbed into Gentile Christianity. But for some centuries they maintained a separate existence in the East. Their numbers were not very great. Origen, who knew Palestine early in the third century, thinks that in all the world there are less than 144,000 Jewish Christians. In the time of Domitian, two grandchildren of Jude, the Lord's brother, were brought from Batanea to the emperor. He was afraid of some pretext of rebellion against the power of Rome, and therefore inquired if they were descendants of King David. They answered, "Yes." But as they only possessed a farm worth the beggarly sum of 9,000 denarii, and said that they only hoped for a heavenly kingdom which would be revealed at the end of the world, the emperor allowed them to depart in peace. Early in the third century there were still Jewish Christians in Palestine who were especially respected as being *Desposynoi*, kinsmen of the Lord. After the death of S. James, Symeon, the son of Clopas, was bishop of Jerusalem until his death about A.D. 104. After his death the Jewish Christians became a prey to party spirit, and we learn from Justin Martyr that in the middle of the second century they had already separated into two distinct parties.[1] The first section consists of Judaising Christians who, as Jews by birth, submit to circumcision and keep the Mosaic Law, but do not regard the Law as binding on Gentile Christians, with whom they hold intercourse. The manner in which Justin Martyr refers to them makes it almost certain that they believed in the Divinity of Christ. Of this party we have a representative in Ariston of Pella, who

Jewish Christians.

[1] *Dial.* 47, 48.

wrote between 135 and 165. He wrote a *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, a controversial work against the Jews. Passages in this work show that Ariston believed in the "fulness of Christ," and in His existence before His birth on earth. Hegesippus, an orthodox Palestinian Christian, who visited Corinth and Rome soon after 150, wrote certain *Memoirs*, which have unfortunately perished, but were used by Eusebius. He was acquainted with Hebrew, and had apparently seen in Jerusalem the monumental stone commemorating S. James. Ariston makes use of the word "Nazarene" to describe the Christians, a title used in Acts xxiv. 5, and used by S. Jerome in the fourth century as the title of the more orthodox section of Jewish Christians. They used a *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which some of Jerome's contemporaries regarded as the original Hebrew version of *S. Matthew*, though Jerome himself learnt that it was not. Some fragments of it remain. It may have contained some original matter, but it was certainly of a debased character. It was probably written by a compiler who made use of the Gospel of S. Matthew and that of S. John. Other and more legendary forms of this gospel were circulated among the more extreme Jewish Christian sects.

Jewish Semi-Christians.

The *Ebionites* is a name frequently applied to the more heretical Jewish Christians by ancient writers from S. Irenaeus onwards. The name "Ebionite" means "poor," and was probably adopted by some of the early Jewish Christians on account of our Lord's blessing on the poor, and the significance attached to humble poverty in certain of the Psalms. They are identical with a section

of Jewish Christians mentioned by Justin Martyr as believing the observance of the Mosaic Law to be absolutely necessary to salvation, and holding no fellowship with Christians who differ from them. S. Irenaeus says that their only gospel is one *according to Matthew*, they reject S. Paul, deny the virgin-birth and Divinity of Christ, and venerate Jerusalem as the house of God. Tertullian and S. Hippolytus attribute their origin to a founder named "Ebion" or "Hebion," but in this they are almost certainly mistaken. Tertullian expressly declares that they consider Jesus to be "mere man." Origen and Eusebius describe two sections of the party. Both sections keep the Law, reject S. Paul, and deny the Divinity of Christ. One section, however, is described as admitting that He was born of a virgin. Late in the fourth century the Jewish Christians were still numerous. S. Jerome came into contact with them and knew their language. His account of them exactly corresponds with that of Justin Martyr. He distinguishes the Ebionites from the Nazarenes, though he says that the Ebionites "are popularly called 'Nazarenes.'"[1] He shows that the former still retained their false doctrines. S. Epiphanius speaks of the Jewish Christians as still existing "in the town of Beroea, in Coele Syria, and also in Decapolis, near Pella and in Basanitis, at the town commonly called Kokabe, but Chochabe in Hebrew."[2]

Of their final disappearance little or nothing is known. But the remnants of the Nazarenes were probably absorbed into the Christian Churches which employed the Syriac language, and the Ebionites were probably absorbed by the Moslems. That Muhammad's

[1] *Ep. ad. Aug.* 89, cf. *in Isa.* i. 12; ix. 1. [2] *Haer.* 29, 7.

own teaching is largely derived from heretical forms of Jewish Christianity which survived about A.D. 600 is certain. After his death various Christian phrases, including part of the Lord's prayer, were attributed by the Moslems to their prophet, and miracles were invented in emulation of the miracles of the gospel. But Muhammad's own religion, though influenced by the traditions of the Parsees and of the heathen Arabs, is emphatically a form of Judaistic Christianity. He retained circumcision; taught that Jesus is the Messiah and one of the six successive founders of true religion; denied that He is the Son of God, when the very word which Muhammad uses for "Son" shows that he did not understand what the phrase meant on Christian lips; identified the Holy Ghost with Gabriel and repudiated the Trinity; described a strange travesty of the Eucharist; taught the Docetic doctrine that Christ died only in appearance; confused Mary with Miriam. In these and other points Islam has simply crystallised the dreams of an ignorant Judaising Christianity of an Essene character. And the hostility of the Moslems towards Christianity at the present day in Africa and India is a direct survival of the hostility shown by the Judaising Christians to the work of S. Paul.

Ebionism shaded off into a form of Christianity even more corrupt than itself. The latter form shows traces of the paganism to which the Jews in the north-east of the Holy Land were especially exposed. It was also affected by an asceticism which resembled that of the old Jewish Essenes. Modern writers have given these heretics the appropriate name of Essene Ebionites. They appear in ancient writers under the name of Ossenes (= Essenes),

Essene Ebionites.

Sampsaeans (sun-worshippers), and Elkesaites. Origen connects the latter with a teacher named Elkesai or Elxai (hidden might). Perhaps this is really the name of a sacred book to which we know that they attached very great importance. It was brought to Rome by Alcibiades of Apamea, in Syria, about A.D. 200. These sects kept the Sabbath and practised circumcision. They opposed the eating of flesh, and declared that the animal sacrifices of the Old Testament were not ordained by God. They used frequent lustrations of water in addition to baptism. In their Eucharist they employed bread and water without wine. They taught that Jesus was the "great King" or Messiah, and that in Him there was incarnate a kind of archangel, who was the ideal man and had previously appeared in Adam and in other patriarchs. It is probable that the scholar Symmachus, who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek late in the second century, was connected with the Elkesaites.

In addition to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the Essene Ebionites had various romances intended to glorify S. Peter and S. James. The most influential of these forgeries are those which bear the name of S. Clement, bishop of Rome. They include (1) *Twenty Homilies*, preceded by a *Letter of Peter to James* and a *Letter of Clement to James*, and (2) the *Recognitions*. The *Homilies* are full of doctrinal peculiarities of an Ebionite character, whereas the *Recognitions* are less Oriental and doctrinal, and care more for the moral lessons of the story. There is no doubt that they obtained currency in Catholic circles; and they agree with the later view of the Roman See by representing S. Peter as bishop of Rome, and appointing Clement

"to sit in his own chair." This directly contradicts the true story as told by S. Irenaeus, that Linus was the first bishop, and that he was appointed by S. Peter and S. Paul jointly. This Clementine literature shows no outspoken opposition to S. Paul, but it shows no idea of redemption through our Lord, and is wholly uninfluenced by S. Paul's teaching. It insists on the unity of God against polytheism and Marcionism (see p. 58), and the defence of Monotheism is of such a nature as to be substantially Unitarian. The real Divinity of our Lord is ignored and He is simply "the prophet of truth." A strict morality is upheld, and special warnings are given against eating of the table of demons, *i.e.* by partaking of the sacrificial feasts in idol-temples. Great power is attributed to the demons. They are described as the spirits of the giants who were the children of the angels who married the daughters of men. Simon Magus appears as the special opponent of S. Peter. Episcopacy is strongly upheld, and at every place which S. Peter visits he appoints a bishop. Nevertheless it is not S. Peter but S. James who is described as "Lord and Bishop of Bishops." Wine and meat are apparently forbidden, and the Eucharist is to be celebrated with bread, salt, and water. Both the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* are based on an older Ebionite work called the *Circuits*, apparently contemporary with the book of Elxai, and, like it, written in the region lying to the north-east of Palestine.[1]

[1] See F. J. A. Hort, *Notes introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions.*

CHAPTER II

INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH A.D. 98–155

OF the inner life of the Church during the sub-apostolic age—that is, the period which elapsed between the death of S. John and the martyrdom of his last surviving pupil, S. Polycarp, in A.D. 155—we have memorials which are sufficient to show us a tolerably distinct picture. One great bond of union and source of a common religious life consisted in the sacred books reverenced by all Christians. The Christian Church started on its career with a body of "Scriptures." This now included the whole of our present Old Testament, the different volumes of which were finally put together in one "canon" by learned Jews at Jamnia, about A.D. 70. The Christians accepted this canon, which had indeed existed in a looser form at an earlier date. And just as S. Paul quotes the apocryphal *Book of Wisdom*, and S. Jude apparently quotes the *Assumption of Moses*, so the writers of the sub-apostolic age occasionally quote Jewish apocryphal literature, both of Hellenistic and of Hebrew origin. Among the books so quoted we find the *Books of Judith*, *Tobit*, and *Enoch*, the *Fourth Book of Esdras*, and the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*. Papias appears to quote the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. Papias is also of great importance as throwing light on

Christian Literature.

the canon of the New Testament. He knows of the Gospel of S. Mark, and of the original Discourses of S. Matthew, he also quoted 1 Peter and 1 John. He probably knew S. John, and an old tradition, but one upon which we cannot place much reliance, says that he wrote S. John's Gospel at the dictation of the apostle. He tells us how carefully he collected oral traditions from the men who had seen the apostles.

With regard to the books of the New Testament we may briefly remark as follows. All except some of the most extreme sceptics admit that before A.D. 98 there already existed our first three gospels, a large part of Acts, most of S. Paul's Epistles, and the Revelation. But it is an illogical and untenable position to say that these portions alone are genuine. There are overwhelming reasons for believing that the whole of Acts, as well as the whole of our third gospel, is the work of a companion of S. Paul, viz. S. Luke. Moreover, the internal and the external evidence for the Gospel according to S. John, his First Epistle, and the First Epistle of S. Peter, are so strong that the rejection of these writings cannot be said to be unprejudiced. There is direct proof to show that they were all used and venerated in the sub-apostolic age. The Epistle to the Hebrews is also quoted with reverence. The remaining books of the New Testament have not such strong evidence in their favour. But in view of their brevity and comparative unimportance this is only what we might reasonably expect. And even if we had no certain proof of the existence of the books of the New Testament, we should be compelled to say that behind the documents of these two generations of the sub-apostolic age there must have been a body of

doctrine which was in substance identical with that which is found in the New Testament. This doctrine is assumed and expounded.

Sub-apostolic Writings.

The Catholic writings of the sub-apostolic age include the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome to Corinth (probably written in A.D. 95, shortly before S. John's death); the Epistle of Barnabas, written by an Alexandrian Christian (date uncertain: probably A.D. 79 or A.D. 131); the seven Epistles of S. Ignatius (written on his way to martyrdom at Rome about A.D. 110); the Epistle of S. Polycarp to the Philippians (written just after the death of S. Ignatius); the letter of the Church of Smyrna describing the martyrdom of S. Polycarp (A.D. 155); an early Church manual partly based on Jewish sources and known as the *Didaché*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (probably written about A.D. 100); fragments of the works of Papias of Hierapolis in Asia Minor (about A.D. 135); an allegory called the *Shepherd* by Hermas, and a homily wrongly called the Second Epistle of Clement, both written in Rome about A.D. 140; and the Apology or Defence of Christianity written by Aristides (? A.D. 125), and the two Apologies by Justin Martyr (A.D. 152 and 157).

To these we must add the mention of certain unorthodox writings of which we have some remains. They include three forgeries attributed to S. Peter, a Gospel "according to the Hebrews" and another "according to the Egyptians." Of these gospels too little is at present known for us to estimate their exact historical value. There is also abundant evidence to show that religious epistles, such as those mentioned above, were widely and rapidly circulated among

Christians in different parts of the empire. In this way the different Christian communities were bound together by the same ties of sympathy and the same literary interests.

They were also bound together by a common worship. Many indications of the nature of Christian worship are to be found in the New Testament, and the Christian worship of the sub-apostolic age continued these traditions. The fullest account of it is given by Justin Martyr, but before he wrote his Apologies, directions for worship were given in the *Didaché*, and in A.D. 112 the heathen governor Pliny, in his letter to the emperor Trajan, shows us how the Christians of Bithynia met together before dawn on a stated day and sang antiphonally hymns to Christ as to God, and bound themselves by a solemn pledge (*sacramento*) not to commit theft, adultery, or any such crime. They again assembled later for an innocent meal. The letter thus witnesses to the divine dignity given to our Lord by the Christians and to their vigorous moral life. It is possible, though not certain, that the meal mentioned by Pliny is the Agapé, or love-feast, and that the earlier service was the Eucharist and already called by the name of "sacrament." The *Didaché* makes the Eucharist the central act of worship, and here we also find traces of the Agapé. The Jews had been in the habit of combining two different sacred meals together on certain occasions, our Lord himself had instituted the Eucharist at the end of a Passover supper, and thus there were direct antecedents for the Christian custom of connecting the Eucharist with a love-feast. The directions in the *Didaché* do not make it quite

Christian Worship.

plain whether the Agapé was held before the Eucharist or afterwards. But at the close of the second century we know from Tertullian that the Eucharist was partaken of before any other food and in "meetings before dawn," a phrase which recalls the statement of Pliny. The Jews were wont to abstain from food for some hours before partaking of the Passover, and a similar custom was adopted by the Christians in the case of Holy Communion. Justin Martyr boldly explains the outline of the Eucharist for the benefit of heathen readers. Like the *Didaché* he refers to it as the sacrifice foretold by the prophet Malachi. S. Clement implies the same doctrine by describing it as a chief duty of the Christian clergy "to offer the gifts" and by calling their office a "sacerdotal ministry" (*leitourgia*). Justin describes the service as follows:—

"On the day called Sunday all those who live in the towns, or in the country, meet together; and the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read, so long as time allows. Then, when the reader has ended, the president (*i.e.* bishop) addresses words of instruction and exhortation to imitate these good things. Then we all stand up together and offer prayers. And when prayer is ended, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president offers up alike prayer and thanksgivings with all his energy, and the people give their assent, saying the *Amen*. And the distribution of the elements, over which thanksgiving has been uttered, is made, so that each partakes; and to those who are absent they are sent by the hands of the deacons. And those who have the means, and are so disposed, give as much as they will, each according to his inclination; and the sum collected is placed in the hands of the president, who himself succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and the prisoners, and the foreigners who are staying in the place, and, in short, he provides for all who are in need."

Doctrine of the Eucharist.

The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is briefly stated in Ignatius and Justin Martyr. There is not a definite statement in the *Didaché*, and it has been thought that this book implies a less sacramental doctrine. But this interpretation of the *Didaché* rests on the supposition that the prayers which it provides for the Eucharist are the sole prayers employed, which is not probable. And it also overlooks the importance of some subtle coincidences between the language of the *Didaché* and the sacramental phrases used by S. Paul and S. John. The *Didaché* assumes that the Eucharist is not ordinary food, nor an empty material symbol, but a spiritual food which conveys eternal life through Christ. Ignatius, in contending for the truth about Christ's Person, contends for the truth about the Eucharist. The heretics, against whom he warns his readers, had evidently declared that Christ had no true human nature, and that it is therefore impossible for us to be nourished by His body. He says, "They abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up. They, therefore, that gainsay the good gift of God perish by their questionings."[1] On the other hand, he speaks of the orthodox Church of Ephesus as "breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, a preventive remedy that we should not die, but live in Jesus Christ for ever."[2] He teaches no elaborate theory about the Eucharist, but is confident that it is the flesh and blood of Christ. Justin Martyr speaks in the same way as

[1] *ad Smyrn.* 6, 7. [2] *ad Eph.* 20.

Ignatius. He says, "We do not receive these things as common bread or common drink, but, just as Jesus Christ our Saviour, made flesh by God's word, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so we have been taught that the food over which thanks must have been given—that food from which our blood and flesh are by assimilation nourished—in answer to prayer through a word which issues from Him, is both the flesh and the blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."[1] Justin assumes that there is a close analogy between the Incarnation and the consecration of the sacrament. In both God's word causes the divine and the earthly to be united. As the flesh which Jesus took from His human mother was exalted by being from the earliest moment of its conception united with His own divine spiritual Person, so at the moment of consecration the bread and wine, though they still retain their nourishing properties, become in a true fashion the body and blood of Christ.

The *Didaché* and Justin Martyr clearly show us how the rite of baptism was administered. The rite required (1) previous instruction and fasting; (2) a person who baptises the convert; (3) the use of water—running water if possible, though the convert was not necessarily immersed; (4) the repetition of the Trinitarian formula, "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Holy Baptism.

It has been supposed that baptism was originally administered without this Trinitarian formula, but there is no proof of this supposition being correct. There is no good reason for doubting the truth of S. Matthew

[1] 1 *Apol.* 66.

xxviii. 19, in which our Lord employs these words. Other parts of the New Testament show that this formula was primitive, and the extremely early date of the oldest form of the Apostles' Creed shows that the formula is of apostolic origin. It seems quite clear that a simple form of the creed was used early in the second century, both in Rome and in Asia Minor, and this creed was an expansion of the baptismal formula, intended for the instruction of candidates for baptism. Candidates were also instructed in the moral duties of a Christian, which they promised to observe, and great stress was laid upon the importance of these duties. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration was universally recognised, and it was believed, without controversy, that the man who seriously received baptism received thereby the forgiveness of all past sins. A ceremony so intelligible and so consoling appealed profoundly to the hearts of men. It excited none of the aversion which the Jewish circumcision or the Mithraic bath in bull's blood would naturally arouse, and the resemblance which it bore to some of the simpler forms of sacred lustration among the heathen was a welcome point of contact with the instincts of "natural religion."

The Ministry.

The organisation of the ministry at this period has been the subject of much dispute in modern time. But there is every reason to believe that it kept closely to the lines which are discernible in the later Epistles of S. Paul. It was assumed that ministerial office rests on a divine commission. A candidate for the ministry was required to have not only an inward certainty of a call from God. He must be examined, witness about him was procured, and the office was conferred upon him by

some person or persons who had the power to do this act. Thus we find S. Clement strongly asserting that the apostles appointed office-bearers to be their successors in certain functions of the apostolic office which were intended to be perpetual. One of his statements runs thus: "Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ; it happened in both cases in due order by the will of God. They then having received commandments, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the Word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Spirit, went forth preaching the Gospel that the kingdom of God was about to come. Preaching then in country and towns they appointed their first-fruits, when they had tested them in the Spirit, as *episkopoi* and deacons of those who were about to become believers."[1] He also says that the apostles "subsequently gave an additional injunction that, if they fell asleep, other approved men might succeed to their ministry."[2] It is not quite clear whether he means that these "approved men" succeeded to the ministry of the apostles or of the office-bearers appointed by the apostles. But in either case he asserts the same principle, that of apostolical succession.

Origin of Episcopacy.

At Jerusalem we find that S. James acted as the head of the presbyters until his death in 62. He is thus the first known instance of an individual bishop ruling over a body of clergy. Others seem to have been appointed at a later time by S. John in Asia Minor. According to Eusebius, S. James was followed by Symeon, and he gives us the names of thirteen "bishops of the

[1] *ad Cor.* c. 42. [2] *op. cit.* c. 44.

circumcision" who ruled over the Church of Jerusalem between the death of Symeon and the second destruction of the city by the Romans in 135. While the apostles were still alive certain local Churches which had not as yet a fixed bishop were governed by a body of presbyters who were assisted by deacons. These two classes of officials were at first under the authority of the apostles and of men such as Timothy or Titus, appointed by an apostle. The presbyters were at first known also by the title of *episkopoi* or overseers. In spite of the fact that it has been frequently denied that the titles presbyter and *episkopos* were co-extensive, no other theory seems to account so satisfactorily for what we find in the Acts of the Apostles, in S. Paul's Epistles, in the First Epistle of S. Peter and the letter of S. Clement. Gradually, however, the title of *episkopos* became confined to the highest person in the ministry, who was sometimes called "the ruler." He acted as the president of the body of the presbyters and had a special precedence in the worship of the Church, in the administration of charity, and in communications with other local Churches. S. Ignatius always uses the title *episkopos* to signify this minister and ruler of the Church, and in the same way does the Christian Church continue to use the word *bishop*, which is derived from the word *episkopos*. It has been thought that certain Churches had what would now be called a presbyterian form of government, being ruled simply by a corporation of presbyters. In proof of this it is urged that S. Polycarp, in writing to the Philippians, mentions the presbyters, but does not mention any bishop. It has also been noticed that

S. Ignatius, in writing to the Romans, does not mention their bishop.[1] But it is almost impossible to suppose that there was no bishop at Philippi, for S. Ignatius speaks of bishops as "established unto the boundaries of the earth," and says that "a Church is not called a Church" without the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. Not only were there bishops in the large towns, but some places which were mere villages had bishops in the second century, and as late as A.D. 430 there were village or country bishops in Arabia and Cyprus. In fact there are reasons for thinking that the primitive Church was in certain ways even more thoroughly episcopal than the Church of later times, although the bishop did not undertake any important action without the co-operation of his presbyters.

Evangelistic Ministry.

Side by side with this organisation we find traces of other offices which were peculiarly fitted for the missionary stage of Church life, and it is hard to draw any sharp distinction between the organised ministry of the primitive Church and certain offices which became absorbed into that ministry. Among these offices are those of apostle, prophet, and teacher. All these functions are found in the New Testament, and there are references to them in the *Didaché*, in Hermas, and in other early writings. In the New Testament the term "apostle" is not strictly limited to the twelve apostles and S. Paul, as it is in our ordinary modern manner of speaking, and as it seems to be in the letters of S. Ignatius. It was probably applied at first to the principal "evangelists" of the Church, and the

[1] For the existence of episcopacy at Rome, see p. 89.

latter to some extent supplanted the former. The prophets, like the apostles, travelled from place to place, but might settle permanently in one place. Hippolytus describes S. John as both an apostle and a prophet. Ignatius the bishop claims the gift of prophecy, the friends of Polycarp describe him as a "prophetic teacher," and in A.D. 177 the letter of the Church of Lyons speaks of the Phrygian Alexander as "not without a share in the apostolic gift."

The teachers, though they had not the special inspiration which was given to the prophets, occupied a highly esteemed position. The warning which S. James gives, "Be not many teachers," shows that the position was sometimes sought by undeserving men, and Hermas maintains that to teach with gravity and holiness is the result of a gift of the Holy Spirit. At Alexandria, the "teachers" for a long period held an exalted position, and instructed the catechumens who were being prepared for baptism. S. Jerome attributes the institution of teachers or "doctors" at Alexandria to S. Mark. At Alexandria they might be laymen, and Tertullian apparently knew of such lay teachers, as he mentions the "teacher" between the virgin and the martyr.[1] But in some places the duty of teaching was attached to the office of a presbyter at a very early date. We find this implied in S. Paul's direction that the presbyter must be "apt to teach"; and in the Acts which record the martyrdom of S. Perpetua and S. Felicitas, and in other Acts, we find the title "presbyter doctor."

In certain places it was customary in the third century for the bishop to ask laymen to address

[1] *de Praesc.* 3.

their congregations. This we learn from a statement made in 215 by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Caesarea, when Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, complained that they had allowed Origen to usurp this privilege. The two bishops aforesaid replied to Demetrius that they had not acted without precedent, as bishops had done this at Laranda, Iconium, and Synnada.[1]

Church Discipline.

The discipline of the Church was severe. It was universally taught that Christianity made a strong moral claim upon all believers. Perfection was the standard of the Christian, and as the *Didaché* says: "If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, then do at least what thou canst." But the widespread moral degradation which surrounded the little bands of Christian believers in every heathen town made it hard indeed for a man to "keep himself unspotted from the world." The Epistles of S. Paul to Corinth give us a very vivid picture of life in a centre of heathenism and profligacy, and show us the case of a man who was guilty of a gross sin of impurity, but was restored to the Church on his repentance. The same compassion was shown by S. John. Clement of Alexandria has preserved for us a touching story about a young man whom the apostle converted and entrusted to the care of a bishop. The bishop neglected his duty, and the young man was induced to join a band of brigands, and committed theft and murder. He was afterwards discovered by the apostle and brought back to the Church, and S. John, we are told, after praying, fasting,

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 19.

and talking with the prodigal, left him to be "a great example of true repentance and of that regeneration which is a token of the resurrection for which we hope." Thus the offender on repenting was admitted once more to the privileges of a Christian. In Revelation ii. 20, 21, we find that S. John mentions a prophetess who had been guilty of the worst sins, and who nevertheless received "space to repent."

Growth of Rigorism.

But before the middle of the second century the Church was inclined to a stricter policy. It was feared that if the Church were to grant absolution for such sins as murder, idolatry, adultery, and similar sins, wickedness would grow apace, and the Church would soon be practically merged in the world. Absolution was therefore refused. The motive for this severity was good, and yet there can be little doubt that if such severity had remained universal very many repentant sinners would have been pushed back into despair and into deeper sin. The result of an unapostolic severity would have been a profit to the cause of Satan and not an impetus to the kingdom of God. This was seen by Hermas, the brother of Pius, then bishop of Rome. He composed his famous allegory called the *Shepherd* in order to plead against the new rigorism. He offers pardons to all sinners, on the conditions that they show a sincere repentance and that they are only pardoned once. He includes adultery among the sins which may be forgiven, and even apostasy, provided the apostate has not denied the Lord from the heart.

Protest of Hermas.

Hermas values outward signs of penitence, and interprets them in the most spiritual way. The true penitent must accept punishment and

difficulties, and the penitence which does this is itself a gift of God. It is good to fast and to give the money saved by fasting to widows and orphans. But the perfect fast is to serve God with a pure heart and to keep His commandments. Cheerfulness is regarded as a duty, and sadness is to be unknown to the Christian.

From the *Didaché* we learn that Wednesdays and Fridays were observed as fast days. From the Apology of Aristides, as from Hermas, we learn that the money saved by fasting was bestowed upon the needy.

Fasts.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH A.D. 98–192

JUDAISM was tolerated by the Romans because it was a national religion. With the Christian Church the case was different. A religion which was Monotheist, and exclusive, and universalist, could not possibly be reconciled with Roman religion and Roman autocracy. Either the religion of Christ, or the gods of Rome, or the whole prevalent conception of the relation between religion and the State, had to be eliminated before peace could be made. For conformity with the State religion was regarded as the duty of every citizen, and its neglect by one member of the commonwealth might call down the wrath of heaven upon the whole body. Persecution of the Church was therefore sure to begin so soon as the nature of Christianity was understood. There would have been a persecution, even if there had been no Nero on the throne. But when in A.D. 64 Rome was devastated by a fire which burnt half the city, and Nero knew that he was suspected of causing the conflagration, he tried to avert suspicion from himself by fixing the blame upon the Christians. The Christians were suspected of "hatred of the human race," a convenient phrase which implied opposition to Roman

Persecution inevitable.

religion and Roman civilisation, and especially included the crime of poisoners and magicians. Thus Nero was able to treat the burning of Rome as an act which was only an expression of a general hostility on the part of the Christians towards law and order. The Church was henceforth proscribed. As Tertullian tells us, "nomen ipsum Christianum," the mere name of Christian, was punishable. To confess oneself a Christian was to court destruction.

Christians were liable to capital punishment for *high treason* (majestas) in refusing to pay divine honours to the emperor, or for *disobedience to the State* in refusing to worship the public gods, or for *legal atheism*, in showing contempt for those gods. They were thus caught in a network of hostile legislature. All these offences were regarded as practically the same, and the punishment was beheading for the upper classes, and burning or being eaten by wild beasts for the lower classes. Without much ingenuity any Christian could be shown to come under a charge of *majestas*. If he were not of importance, he could be dealt with summarily and hastily by virtue of the *coercitio* with which the higher magistrates were invested. There was an increasing tendency to exercise this power against accused citizens as well as non-citizens, the method being quicker and less technical.

No formal *edict* against the Christians was promulgated until the time of Decius (250). But the policy of punishing Christians both by the *coercitio* and on the charge of *majestas* went on continuously. Titus is said by Sulpicius Severus, in a passage probably taken from a lost book of Tacitus, to have said that it would be an advantage to destroy the Temple of Jerusalem

in order that the religion of the Jews and of the Christians might be more completely extirpated. It is probable, however, that the Christians enjoyed some measure of tranquillity until the tyrant Domitian violently persecuted the Church, as is shown by the Revelation of S. John, S. Clement of Rome, Dio Cassius and Suetonius. There was a cessation of persecution at the end of Domitian's reign and during the brief reign of Nerva (A.D. 96–98).

Trajan.

Trajan (A.D. 98–117). In his reign Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, was crucified about A.D. 104. The story is told by Hegesippus and copied by Eusebius. A still more famous martyrdom is that of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. He was sent from Antioch to Rome to die in the amphitheatre, and, as he says himself, be "ground by the teeth of the wild beasts." Numbers of the faithful visited him on his journey, a fact which proves that the Christians were allowed considerable liberty by the officials. The situation is made clear to us in the rescript which Trajan wrote in A.D. 112 to Plinius Secundus, the imperial legate in Bithynia. The Christians were so numerous in Bithynia that the trade in fodder for sacrificial victims had seriously declined. When Christians were brought before Pliny, and refused to recant, they were put to death. When some declared that they were not Christians, he required them to offer incense to the emperor's statue, and to curse Christ. He became uneasy on account of the number of persons accused by anonymous informers, and also on account of the fact that he found the practices of the Christians to be of an innocent character. He learnt about their religious worship and failed to ex-

tract any incriminating evidence from two deaconesses whom he had tortured. He therefore told the facts to the emperor. In writing, he assumes that Christianity is a capital offence, and that Trajan will approve of the punishment inflicted on the contumacious. He also thinks that a lenient course ought to be adopted towards those who recanted.

Trajan agreed: Christians, if convicted, must be punished. But he mitigated the procedure against Christianity by making two concessions: (1) Christians are not to be hunted for by the police officials; (2) if they recant, and "worship our gods," they are to receive a free pardon. Trajan also strongly condemned anonymous accusations, and by his silence as to the charges of immorality, he tacitly acquitted the Christians of the more serious charges of which they were said to be guilty. His rescript was regarded by the Christians as a gain to the Church.

Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), a scholar of the philosopher Plutarch, and an aesthete, took an interest in all that was learned or beautiful. It is said that he wished to build a temple to Christ. He was certainly not wholly unacquainted with Christianity, as is shown by the famous letter which he wrote to Servianus in 134. In that year he visited Egypt, and he thus speaks of the citizens of Alexandria: "Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those are devotees of Serapis who say that they are bishops of Christ. There is there no ruler of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the Christians who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an athletic trainer. Even the Jewish patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by some to adore Serapis,

Hadrian.

by others Christ." The "Christians" here described are probably Gnostics, for Gnosticism found a congenial home in this focus of religion and superstition.

A rescript which bears his name is found at the end of Justin's *First Apology*, and in Eusebius (iv. 9). The authenticity of this rescript is hotly disputed, but the best critics, including the celebrated historian Mommsen, are in favour of its genuineness. It shows that about 124 the proconsul Serennius Granianus, more correctly Silvanus Granianus, in consequence of some popular disturbances against the Christians, asked Hadrian for directions. The reply came to his successor Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. The rescript neither expressly admits nor denies that "the Name" is a crime. Its object is stated as being "to prevent innocent persons from being harassed, and false accusers being allowed the opportunity of fraud." Definite proof is to be required in order to show that the accused "are acting against the law," "mere entreaties and outcries" against the Christians are not sufficient. Accusers who do not make good their case are to be punished as false accusers. There is no reason to suppose that Hadrian stopped persecution, in fact it is probable that the martyrdom of S. Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, falls within his reign. But Hadrian made it necessary to proceed in a straightforward and orderly fashion, and his policy therefore protected the Church from the popular outbursts which were among its greatest perils. The Christians took advantage of the fact, and began to compose those "Apologies" which were intended to show the educated pagan world that Christianity is an eminently reasonable and moral religion. The first recorded Apology is that

presented to Hadrian at Athens, by Quadratus, in 125.

Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) left things as they were before. That he was not regarded as a persecutor seems to be proved by the "Rescript to the Confederation of Asia," a document which Tertullian seems to have regarded as genuine, but is now universally held to be a Christian forgery of the next generation. The impossible toleration which it ascribes to Antoninus Pius shows that the author was grateful, if not very scrupulous. There was no real peace for the Church. In Rome the prefect of the city, Lollius Urbicus, executed Ptolemaeus and two of his friends.

Antoninus Pius.

Ptolemaeus was suddenly arrested by a centurion on private information, and when he was interrogated by the prefect, the mere confession that he was a Christian sufficed to undo him. His friends were likewise executed for showing that they held the same opinions. The whole incident, as recorded by Justin Martyr in his *Second Apology*, is an extreme case of the magistrate exercising his *coercitio* in a manner more summary than Trajan had intended.

This reign was full of calamities, such as earthquakes, floods, and fires. And these calamities irritated the populace against the Christians, whose "atheism" and magic were believed to exercise a disastrous influence over the laws of nature. Melito (quoted by Eusebius, iv. 26) shows that the emperor wrote to Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and the Greek towns of Asia to prohibit violent attacks upon the Christians. The letter to Athens was perhaps caused by the martyrdom of Publicus, bishop of Athens. But the really epoch-

Death of S. Polycarp.

marking death was that of S. Polycarp, the last known pupil of S. John, who suffered at Smyrna on February 23rd, 155. The full circumstances are told us in the letter written by the Church of Smyrna to Philomelium, a town in Phrygia. A Christian from Phrygia named Quintus came to Smyrna, and with the proverbial fanaticism of Phrygians, provoked the interference of the magistrates. In company with eleven other Christians he was imprisoned. The great annual games of the Confederation of Asia were in progress, and the sports were to be enhanced by the sufferings of the martyrs. At the sight of the wild beasts Quintus recanted, but the rest died amid hideous tortures. The frenzied mob then shouted for Polycarp, whom the heathen called "the father of the Christians." The bishop, at the entreaties of his friends, had retired to a farm in the neighbourhood, but a slave boy under torture revealed his hiding-place. The next day he was taken on an ass to the town, and then to the athletic grounds. It was a "high Sabbath," and Jews and heathens howled as he appeared in sight. The proconsul, Titus Statius Quadratus, wished to induce the aged bishop to recant. He asked him to "Swear by the genius of Caesar," and say, "Away with the Atheists." Polycarp looked gravely at the howling mob and then up to heaven, and said, "Away with the Atheists." The proconsul did not understand his prayer, and said, "Swear, and I will release you: revile Christ." Then came that never-to-be-forgotten answer, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He has never done me wrong; how then can I blaspheme Him now, my King who saved me?" The Asiarch Philip was asked

to let him be thrown to the lions. He refused, as the games were now over. So the people took the law into their own hands. They brought piles of faggots and lighted them round Polycarp, who stood still waiting for death. The wind blew the flames into a bow over his head, so that they scarcely touched the martyr. The crowd saw that he was not burning fast enough, so they made the executioner thrust him through with a sword. At the urgent request of the Jews the body was not removed, but left to be burned to ashes.

Marcus Aurelius (A D. 161–180). In spite of the philosophy and the virtues of this emperor, the condition of the Christians was worse than before. He considered that they were guilty of "folly" and of "lawlessness," and he allowed the severity which could punish the latter to outweigh the pity which a philosopher might have extended towards the former. S. Justin Martyr died in 165. He was accused by a private enemy, a philosopher named Crescens. The prefect of the city, Junius Rusticus, asked him and his companions if they were Christians. And then sentence was given to the effect that "those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and obey the order of the emperor" should be scourged and executed. In Asia Minor "new edicts" were promulgated about 176, as a result of which "shameless informers, men greedy for gain, took occasion to practise open brigandage, despoiling, night and day, men guilty of no crime."[1] Athenagoras and Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote in defence of the Christians to the emperor, and it is evident that in Asia Minor the persecution was severe. It is probable that the

Marcus Aurelius.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26.

martyrdom of Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice, who suffered at Pergamum, took place at this time.

In Gaul the Churches of Lugdunum (Lyons) and Vienna (Vienne) suffered terribly. A wave of agitation passed over the district. The old calumnies were propagated, and many Christians were arrested. The imperial legate examined them by torture, and in violation of the rescript of Trajan, he ordered search to be made for other Christians. He then again broke the law by endeavouring to convict the Christians of other crimes than their religion. Certain slaves accused their masters of the gross immorality which the Christians were popularly believed to practise. The legate had to decide whether those defendants who had apostatised could be acquitted after they had been accused of such enormities. He submitted the matter to the emperor. Marcus Aurelius simply reversed the legate's procedure. He replied that those who should declare themselves to be Christians should suffer capital punishment, while those who repudiated Christianity should be acquitted.

Martyrs of Lyons.

In the meantime several had been put to death in the amphitheatre. But the 1st of August gave opportunity for a specially magnificent spectacle. An annual festival was celebrated on that day in honour of Rome and Augustus. And before an enormous crowd the confessors were put to death. Some of those who had denied the faith took courage and joined the noble band. Those who were Roman citizens were beheaded, the rest were scourged, seated on a red-hot chair, tossed by bulls, or mangled by wild beasts. A boy named Ponticus and a slave girl named Blandina were reserved for the end and died rejoicing. The whole

story is contained in a letter written by the Churches of Lyons and Vienne to the Churches in Asia and Phrygia.[1] It is worthy to be placed side by side with the letter that records the death of S. Polycarp.

Thirty years later it was believed by some Christians that Marcus Aurelius ceased to persecute.[2] But the martyrdoms at Lyons make this improbable, or limit his change of mind to the narrowest period. The origin of the idea is traceable to the story of the "thundering legion" (*legio fulminata*). In 164 the emperor was in Germany fighting against the Quadi, when he and the twelfth legion found themselves without water and were in danger of succumbing to death from thirst. A violent storm relieved their distress, and at the same time frightened their opponents. The emperor certainly attributed his rescue to supernatural agencies, and coins were struck bearing the image of Jupiter Pluvius. The Christians attributed the miracle to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the legion. But there is no reason to believe that this was the view of Marcus Aurelius. We should note also that the name of the legion was not given in commemoration of this event. It was as old as the time of Augustus.

Commodus (A.D. 180–192). Under this debauched and foolish emperor the Church enjoyed comparative rest. Persecution was not, however, extinct. On July 17th, 180, took place the death of the martyrs of Scili in North Africa. The proconsul Vigellius Saturninus urged them to yield, saying, "We swear by the genius of our lords." A Christian woman replied, "*We* give honour to Caesar as unto Caesar, but render fear and worship to Christ as Lord." These

Commodus.

[1] Eus. *H.E.* v. 1. [2] Tertullian, *Ap.* 5; *ad Scap.* 4.

martyrs therefore died for refusing to pay divine honours to the emperor. Another martyr, Namphamo, died at Madaura, in Numidia.

In Rome Apollonius, whom S. Jerome calls a senator, died in the time of the praetorian prefect Perennis (180–185). He defended his belief before the senate. The natural procedure would have been for a man of such rank to be tried by the emperor. But Commodus left the matter in the hand of Perennis, who in obedience to the wishes of the senate ordered Apollonius to be beheaded. Perennis acted courteously towards the accused, but was obliged to put in force the system which Trajan had defined and which dates, in all probability, from Nero. Both Apollonius and the martyrs of Scili died simply for being Christians. In 185 the proconsul Arrius Antoninus vigorously persecuted in Asia Minor. These different persecutions were rather the result of the rescripts of Marcus Aurelius than the wish of Commodus. And Commodus soon afterwards came under the influence of a beautiful Christian woman named Marcia, who interested herself on behalf of the Church. Acting in co-operation with Victor, bishop of Rome, she obtained the release of the Christians who had been condemned to work in the Sardinian mines. Among them was Callistus, himself afterwards bishop of Rome.

Literary attack on Christianity.

The literary attack upon Christianity during this period deserves our notice. In the third century the philosopher Porphyry studied Christianity carefully and attacked it seriously. But in the second century the criticism of Christianity was little better than a caricature. The

physician Galen (see p. 79) writes with some admiration of Christian virtue, but he is an exception. The Cynic Crescens and Fronto the tutor of Marcus Aurelius appear to have repeated the vilest popular calumnies against Christian morals. The Stoic Epictetus, who represents the highest tone of contemporary pagan philosophy, sees in the Christian's prayer for mercy only a cry of ignoble fear. Lucian of Samosata about 170 wrote a work called *The Pilgrim's Death* (*De Morte Peregrini*), in which he gave full vent to the contempt felt for Christianity by men of the world. Lucian himself was an Epicurean, to whom belief even in the heathen gods was a mere subject for pleasantry. He wished to attack the Cynic philosophers, and to give a satirical picture of the follies of the age, among which delusions he numbered the philosophy of the Cynics and the belief of the Christians. He saw in Christianity only a bit of raw material for his satire, and the only side of Christian conduct in which he took an interest was the side that bordered on eccentricity. The view which he takes of Christianity gives special prominence to two features of it; the credulity of the Christians, and their fanaticism with regard to martyrdom.

Lucian.

Peregrinus Proteus, who has committed the vilest crimes, comes to the Christians in Palestine, and after being their disciple soon becomes their leader. He is worshipped by them as a god, and considered as their law-giver. Only one thing is beyond his reach: as the Church was already in existence before he entered it, he cannot raise himself to the same height as its Founder. Peregrinus is then cast into prison by the magistrates. This adds to his reputation, Christians flock to visit

him, embassies arrive from the Churches of Asia, money is showered on the man imprisoned for conscience' sake. For most of the Christians despise money as they despise death, believing that they have immortal souls and bodies which will rise again.

Peregrinus leaves the Church and becomes a Cynic. He meets his end in a great tragic burlesque, by throwing himself into the flames of a pyre in the sight of the crowds who have assembled to witness the Olympian games. But though he is described as dying in the character of a Cynic, the description is meant to contain a reference to the Christians. Lucian meant to condemn Christianity and Cynicism alike, as unhealthy delusions fostered by the men who wish to make a sensation by their self-renunciation, and set themselves to attract attention deliberately and impudently.

But it was difficult to laugh down Christianity, and so another method of attack was tried. And about 178, Celsus, a philosopher, wrote his *True Word against the Christians*, the arguments of which have fortunately been preserved in the reply written by Origen, published in 249. His own creed is a somewhat agnostic form of Platonism; he is willing to admit the value of idealism and of idolatry. He wishes to support the national religion of the State, and because he has sympathy for nationalism in religion, he is able to tolerate Judaism. For Christianity he has not the smallest respect. The Christians are a lawless association, their teaching is barbarous. Jesus was a magician, everything good in His teaching was stolen from the philosophers, and the rest is rubbish. Borrowing arguments from the Jews,

Celsus.

Celsus repeats the story which attributed a shameful birth to Christ, and goes on to argue that His life did not correspond with the Messianic prophecies. It was a complete failure, and Jesus was not strong enough in supernatural power to disappear from the cross. Perhaps He did not die, but only fell into a trance for a day or two. At any rate the story of His reappearance merely rested on the evidence of one woman and a few of His intimate friends. The whole idea of a crucified God is self-contradictory. And the whole Christian scheme of salvation is a violation of the order of nature, in which evil and sin have a permanent and necessary place. The preaching of forgiveness and redemption is useless, because no one can alter his character, and God must obviously prefer the righteous to the sinner. Celsus also knew about the divisions of the Christians, and he played off the sects against the Church, just as he tried to draw a contrast between the apostles and Christ, and between a recension of the Bible and a belief in the inspiration of its contents.

The attack was clever, and in the points which he selected for attack Celsus showed himself the pioneer of future sceptics. But he shut his eyes to the good which he might have seen, if he had cared to do so. He had no positive religion to offer to his readers, and the only moral appeal that he could make was that they should all stand together for the good of the empire.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERVERSION OF CHRISTIANITY

THE writings of S. Paul and S. John prove to us how Christianity began to assimilate the Greek spirit even in apostolic times. A religion which was essentially and necessarily of a universal nature came to the Greek world, not as a piece of incomprehensible magic, but as an intelligible truth, and the apostles strove to show that it was intelligible. But the second century witnessed a very different effort. This was no less than the attempt made by the Greeks to absorb Christianity. The impression which the divine message had already made upon the world is eloquently proved by the fact that Christianity was invited to make a compromise. Many heathens were most anxious to find a place for Christ among "gods many and lords many," and to adapt the gospel to a heathen and ready-made theory about the world and salvation. When we speak of this philosophy and this mythology as "Greek," we are using the word "Greek" in the sense which it came to bear at this period. It represents that puzzling confusion of religions which prevailed in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, a combination of different theories and civilisations popular among the people who usually spoke the Greek

language, though they were not all descended from the Greek race.

The system which attacked Christianity in this insidious and most dangerous fashion is called "Gnosis" or "Gnosticism," on account of the superior knowledge (in Greek "gnôsis") claimed by its professors. The elements of which it was composed were very numerous, and these elements varied in the different Gnostic sects. So far as they can now be analysed, they were as follows: Greek theories derived from the philosophy of the Stoics, Platonists, and Pythagoreans, or the same philosophy after it had filtered through the writings of the Jew Philo; heathen Syrian theories about the creation of the world; Babylonian and Syrian magic and astrology based on a strong belief in the influence of the stars upon human life; Jewish superstitions about the angels, such as S. Paul rebukes in his Epistle to the Colossians, and such as we find preserved in the Jewish Talmud; and, lastly, the Christian religion itself.

Origin of Gnosticism.

Anyone can easily understand that Christianity, when in such strange company as this, could not remain a religion in the strict sense of the word. In fact the Gnostics openly said that they ranked "knowledge" higher than faith. And their religion was mainly intended to be such a knowledge of the created universe as should free the human spirit from all connection with the physical material world. They noticed that many of the most serious and most obvious temptations which beset us come to us through our outward physical senses, and they also saw that there are many human beings who are so immersed

Nature of Gnosticism.

in degrading pursuits and pleasures that they seem actually incapable of rising to a higher and better life. The Gnostics therefore fell into the error of supposing that all the evil in the world was caused by an inferior god who created the world, while the supreme God was a remote spiritual Being who was the author of all spiritual life. The present world, they held, came into existence through a catastrophe by which a spiritual element became imprisoned in physical matter. They did not like to think that any part of the Person of God was imprisoned in matter, but preferred to imagine that there exists a series of spiritual beings which emanate from God, and that one of the lower of these beings became involved in matter. In this way they confused the nature of moral problems with that of physical problems, and the same confusion can be discovered in all their teaching about Christ. They refused to believe that His outward human form was real, for they considered it unseemly that He should have anything material about Him. And they did not believe that His divine Person was truly divine, but only that it was one of the powers which emanate from the supreme God. His redemptive work consists in giving such teaching as will enable the spiritual element in man to free itself from matter and go back to God. But as, according to the Gnostics, many men are too materialistic to be able to avail themselves of His teaching, only the class which they called "spiritual" would be saved. The "material" would be lost, do what they would. A middle class who were neither "spiritual" nor "material," but "natural," possessing not knowledge but merely faith, might be saved in time. The Gnostic scorn of all that we can see and touch, led

them to deny that Christ would visibly return to judge mankind, and to deny the resurrection of the body. It also led them into conduct of a very unchristian kind. For as they believed that the body is an evil thing, they sometimes treated it with an exaggerated asceticism, in the hope that they could reduce its material needs to an absolute minimum. Or on the other hand, they led a licentious life, and tried to justify their conduct by the theory that the spirit was too pure to be affected by the action of the flesh.

Gnosticism was at its height about 150, and unfortunately our chief authorities for Gnosticism are rather later than that date. They are Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Clement, and Origen. We should probably know much more about the history of the whole movement if we had the work against all heresies written by Justin Martyr, as he was a contemporary of the great Gnostic leaders. It is very difficult to classify the different types of this heresy. Several of the various forms flourished simultaneously, the books of one sect passed over to other sects, and it was a fundamental characteristic of Gnosticism to borrow freely from any current form of paganism or magic. The beginnings of Gnosticism certainly go back to the time of the apostles, and we must begin by mentioning the Gnosticism of that age.

Simon Magus.

Simon Magus of Samaria, as we learn from Justin Martyr, who was himself a native of that neighbourhood, was one of the founders of Gnosticism. In Acts viii. we find a reference to the popularity which he won by his profession of magic and by the claim to be the "great power," that is, the revealing principle of God himself. According

to Justin, almost all Samaritans of his time recognised him as the highest God.[1] They also venerated his female companion, named Helena, as the Ennoia or first creative idea of God. Simon and Helena represented themselves respectively as the incarnation of a male and female divine principle. The idea was derived from Phœnician paganism, where we find the sun god and the moon goddess embodied these two principles. According to Irenaeus, it was said that Helena was the mother of all things, and that through her God intended to produce the angels. When she produced them, they created the world and then in envy imprisoned their mother in the world. She appeared in a series of incarnations until Simon came to rescue her and overcame the angels who rule the world. This was to be understood as typical of the freeing of the human soul from the bonds of finite life. The Simonians disdained the precepts of morality as the utterances not of God but of the angels of this world. Menander, the pupil of Simon, was a teacher of magic, who professed to baptise his converts in a way that would protect them from these angels. The disciples of Simon soon dwindled in number. About A.D. 248 Origen thought that there were not thirty in existence.[2]

Cerinthus.

Cerinthus lived in the latter part of the first century. According to a story derived by Irenaeus from Polycarp, S. John entered a public bath at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus there, left the building saying, "Let us depart, the bath might fall down, because the enemy of the truth is in it." Cerinthus taught that Jesus was the son of Mary and Joseph, a mere man on whom the spirit "Christ"

[1] *Apol.* 1, 26, 64. [2] *c. Cels.* 1, 57.

descended at his baptism, and left him before the crucifixion so that "Jesus" suffered and "Christ" did not suffer. This is the first beginning of the long-lived "Docetic" view which denied that the Son of God could suffer. It is opposed in S. John's first Epistle and also by Ignatius and Polycarp. In the second century the "Alogi" (opponents of the Word), a party in Asia Minor, attributed S. John's Gospel to Cerinthus in their desire of repudiating the doctrine which it contains. This extraordinary theory is really of some importance for the defence of the Gospel. For the Alogi attributed the fourth Gospel to the date of S. John and to the place where S. John lived, and thereby they rendered a testimony to its genuineness which is more important than their statement about Cerinthus. For the latter could not possibly have written a Gospel so entirely opposed to his own conviction. The Nicolaitans mentioned in the Revelation of S. John appear as a licentious and heathenish sect.[1] Their origin was attributed to Nicolas, the deacon mentioned in Acts vi., though the New Testament contains nothing which enables us to prove that he fell away from the faith.

Nicolaitans.

The great systems of developed Gnosticism belong to the second century. They radiate from two great centres, Syria and Egypt.

The chief representatives of Syrian Gnosticism during the second century were Saturninus and Cerdo, Bardesanes and Tatian. The two latter will be considered later in an account of the Encratites (p. 67). The school was distinguished by the immense authority which it ascribed

Syrian Gnostics.

[1] Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* iii. 11.

to the powers of evil. The result of this opinion was shown in many points of doctrine. Saturninus, more correctly Satornilus, taught that the supreme God is unknown to all men, but created various angels and powers. Seven of these beings—the number seven is probably derived from the number of the planets —created the visible world and mankind. Of these seven the god of the Jews is one. Satan opposes him, and Satan wholly dominates some men, while other men contain an element of the image of God, a ray of life which can return to God after death. The god of the Jews and the other angels, like those men who possess the ray of life, will be brought back to the supreme God by Christ. Satornilus denied that Christ had any true human body, and he regarded marriage as evil. It is characteristic of this system that the whole of Christianity is fitted into a thoroughly heathenish Asiatic framework of Babylonian and Syrian or of Persian origin.[1] The same principle is to be found in the teaching of Cerdo, a Syrian who taught in Rome in the time of Bishop Hyginus (136–140). While Satornilus attributed the work of creation to good but very inferior spirits, Cerdo taught that the Creator is evil, and while the former taught that the Old Testament is partly the work of the good creative spirits and partly the work of Satan, the latter held that it is wholly evil and mischievous.

Egyptian Gnostics.

More celebrated than the Syrian school was the school of Alexandria, where Gnosticism came into close contact with Greek thought and took a Greek colour.

[1] For Satornilus, see Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 24; Hipp. *Ref.* vii. 28; Eus. *H. E.* iv. 7, 22, 29.

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Basilides.

Basilides, who settled in Alexandria in the time of Hadrian, about 125, founded a sect which spread widely and found a home in Rome. His son Isidore was, like Basilides himself, a copious writer of Gnostic books. Basilides claimed to be a disciple of Glaucias, the interpreter of S. Peter. We have two different accounts of the Basilidian system.[1] The system as described by Irenaeus bears considerable resemblance to Syrian Gnosticism, though it is more Greek in character. It is based on a theory of *emanations* issuing from God. He can be neither known nor named, but there issued from Him five, or perhaps seven, powers which represent the passing of the Godhead from rest into action. Through two of these emanations the first angels and the first heaven were created, and gradually 365 angels and heavens appeared. The highest of these angels is the Archon *Abraxas*, inasmuch as the Greek letters which compose this word are numerically equal to 365. The seven last angels, among whom is the god of the Jews, divided the world between them. They fought with one another because the god of the Jews tried to bring all nations under his sway. Peace was restored by the supreme God sending His first-born in the character of Christ. His appearance was merely Docetic, and Simon of Cyrene died on the cross in His stead.

This picturesque fairy tale seems to have been changed into another and more Greek mythology. The system ascribed to the Basilidians in the *Philosophoumena* (or *Refutations*) of Hippolytus and in the

[1] For Basilides, see Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, 146; ii. 3, 10; 8, 36; 20, 112; iv. 25, 162; 26, 163; Hipp. *Ref.* vii.

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criticisms of Clement of Alexandria is Pantheistic. It is a system of *evolution, not emanation.* The original Deity cannot be said to exist, He is behind all existence — in modern language He is "unconscious Will." He willed to produce a world-seed, containing in a state of confusion the germs of all things, as the grown peacock and its feathers may be said to be contained in an egg. The development of the world is the striving out of confusion into harmony. The seed contained not only the germ of the material world, but also a threefold "sonship" consubstantial with the Deity, namely, subtle, coarse, and impure. The subtle element mounted like a thought to the non-existent God. The coarse sonship with the help of the holy Spirit reached to the next highest region. The sonship which needed purification remained, and it was necessary that it should be raised and united with the others.

From Adam to Moses reigned a spirit called the great Archon, who came out of the world-seed and produced a son whom he set in the heavenly sphere, or Ogdoad. Then a lesser Archon came out of the world-seed and set his son in the sphere of the planets, or Hebdomad. The third "sonship" still remained in the world-seed, "waiting for the revelation of the sons of God." At last the gospel, or "knowledge of the things above the world," descended like a fire from one sphere to another till it reached Jesus, the Son of Mary. His nature was a microcosm of different elements, and when He died the lowest element in Him went up to the Hebdomad, the second element in Him went to the Ogdoad, and at the Ascension the highest element in Him went up to God. And all, who, like Jesus, share in the sonship and purify

it from dross by accepting the so-called "gospel," all the "spiritual," will mount upward likewise above the Ogdoad. Thus the whole sonship will be restored to God and the world reach rest.

Carpocrates, whose follower Marcellina taught his doctrine at Rome in the time of Bishop Anicetus (A.D. 154–166), seems to have been the most Greek of the Gnostics. He regarded Jesus as a mere man, whose purity was due to the fact that His soul remembered His communion with God in a previous stage of existence. Carpocrates held that Jesus despised the commands of Jewish morality, and that all men can do the same as Jesus, and even surpass Him. Like Him they must treat the commandments of the Jews as the commandments of the evil powers of the world. The tendency of the whole system was Antinomian, and Jesus was regarded as the ideal example of a spirit exalted above the limits of moral law. Pictures of Christ were set by the Carpocratians side by side with those of the Greek philosophers Pythagoras and Plato.

Carpocrates.

Valentinus, like Basilides, was connected with Alexandria, and he became the most celebrated of the Gnostics. He went to Rome about 140, and flourished for several years afterwards. The Valentinians soon separated into two divisions. The first was the Italian school, of which Ptolemaeus and Heracleon were the chief representatives. The second was the Eastern, led by Theodotus, with whose writings Clement of Alexandria was well acquainted. Valentinus taught that from an unknown and indefinable God, the "Abyss," there emanated a series of divine powers or aeons. This process was described as a *probole* (putting-

Valentinus.

forth), such as the production of a web by a spider. "Silence," the companion of "Abyss," produced "Mind" and "Truth," which is the companion of "Mind." From this second pair came the "Word" and "Life," "Man" and the "Church." These formed the Ogdoad, and with two other groups of divine beings, they formed the Pleroma or full society of thirty spiritual beings. "Sophia," or Wisdom, one of the lowest of these beings, fell from the Pleroma for longing after knowledge of the "Abyss." Out of her remembrance of the higher world there emanated Christ. Being spiritual, He mounted up to the Pleroma. Then "Sophia," in her longing for the departed Christ, produced the Demiurge, who is of a lower essence, being born of desire. The Demiurge made the world. The creation of the world is thus accounted for by the fall of a divine being, who first becomes emptied of her divine nature by bringing forth Christ. If, as is probable, Valentinus considered the aeons merely to be thoughts of God, the fall from original righteousness began in God's own mind itself.[1]

The Italian Valentinians devised the theory of a twofold Wisdom. They taught that "Sophia," in her feverish desire to reach the "Abyss," produced an unripe Wisdom, the lower Wisdom or "Achamoth" (from the Hebrew of Proverbs ix. 1). The latter produces the Demiurge, or god of the Jews, and he forms men out of the *psychic* or natural and *hylic* or material elements. Roughly speaking, heathenism represents the material, and Judaism the natural. But both some Jews and some heathens are given some share in a *spiritual*

[1] For Valentinus, see Iren. *adv. Haer.* specially directed against Valentinianism (Bk. iv., praef. 2); Clem. Alex. *Strom.; Excerpta Theodoti.;* Hipp. *Ref.;* Tert. *adv. Val.;* Epiph. *Haer.* 31.

nature by "Achamoth." The Italian Valentinians also taught that there is a threefold Christ; viz. an aeon, a heavenly Saviour, and a psychic Christ. The Demiurge sends the psychic Christ to the people whom he has made, and with this Christ the heavenly Saviour united Himself at His baptism. This Saviour is inferior to the aeon Christ, and is the production of all the aeons. He united Himself with the psychic Christ, but not with anything material. He left the psychic Christ before the crucifixion. At the end of the world He will take the spiritual souls up to the Pleroma; while the psychic souls, with the Demiurge and the psychic Christ, will go upward as far as the Ogdoad. Ordinary Christians were numbered among the psychic, occupying a middle position between the "spiritual" who would be saved, do what they might, and the material who would be damned, do what they would. They were called, Theodotus said, but not chosen, feminine souls to whom faith was granted, but not knowledge. He said they would be cleansed by fire, and then rise through the "three mansions" or stages of discipline to the Ogdoad. The soul will need no body in a future state.

By granting that others would in time be saved, and by not entirely separating themselves from the worship of the Church, the Valentinians carried on a very successful propaganda. Their usual plan was to found little philosophical societies within the Church, and then profess to feel aggrieved when those whom they despised as "Churchmen" or "Catholics" avoided them with suspicion.

The Ophites or "serpent Gnostics" adopted as the motto of Gnosticism the words addressed by the

Ophites.[1] serpent to Adam and Eve, "Ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil." Moses, too, had erected a brazen serpent, and Christ had spoken of it as a type of His crucifixion. These scriptural records the Ophites combined with an elaborate mythology derived from the serpent legends of Phœnicia, Babylon, and Asia Minor. The system is worthy of the dreams of an Oriental hashish smoker. We can only note here the prominence given to the "primal woman," a divine being who produces the heavenly Christ, the fall of her daughter "Sophia" or "Prunikos," who produces a son "Ialdabaoth" who in his turn produces the serpent "Mind." The serpent induces Adam and Eve to disobey "Ialdabaoth" and then produces six sons who with himself form a lower Hebdomad opposed to the higher Hebdomad of "Ialdabaoth" and his six sons. The history of mankind is the result of a warfare between these two Hebdomads. Jesus at His baptism became the shrine of the heavenly Christ and His sister "Sophia." "Ialdabaoth" caused the crucifixion of Jesus, but Christ and "Sophia" escaped to heaven. Jesus was raised in the form of a spirit and for eighteen months instructed some chosen souls in the mysteries of Gnosis, after which He ascended into heaven. Some of the serpent Gnostics declared that the only real saints were the servants of the serpent, and they consequently venerated Cain, Esau, and Judas. Hence the sect of Cainites. Others regarded the serpent as the Word himself, and the life of the world.

[1] For the Ophites, see Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 30; Epiph. *Haer.* 37; and the Pseudo-Tertullian, *adv. omnes Haer.* c. 6.

CHAPTER V

PRETENDED REFORMATIONS

AS soon as men and women belonged to the Christian Church because their parents and grandparents had been Christians, and not because they had themselves to make the first break with heathen life, some enfeeblement of the Christian life almost inevitably displayed itself in certain quarters of the Church. Such enfeeblement was likely to be followed by a reaction towards a stricter Christian life. But there was another and graver reason for such reaction. It was that certain of the baser Gnostic sects deliberately encouraged a life of licence. Hermas specially denounces the "hypocrites and teachers of evil" who allow men to follow their own evil desires, and S. Irenaeus knows Valentinians who permit their followers every kind of self-indulgence, on the principle that the flesh has rights over the flesh, and the spirit over the spirit, and not over the flesh. He also mentions that the Carpocratians think that nothing is evil in itself, and that good and evil are only a matter of convention. The saint wonders how it is that men can call Christ their Master while "they emulate the indifference of the Cynics."[1]

There were many Christians who felt sure that there

[1] *adv. Haer.* ii. 32, 2.

ought to be no religion which was not moral and no morality which was not religious. But instead of remaining content with the sober and joyous morality of the Church, they resolved to separate from her communion and to found societies of their own. They treated the Church as if she had made a compromise with the world, and they insisted upon a strict code of morals which was unnatural and indeed immoral.

Marcion stands half-way between the Church and Gnosticism.[1] He was a native of Sinope in Pontus, and came to Rome in the time of Bishop Pius, "sub Pio impius," about 139. He was influenced by the teaching of the Gnostic Cerdo, left the Church about 144 and won a vast number of converts. S. Polycarp on his visit to Rome in 154 greeted him as "the first-born of Satan"; he was opposed by Justin Martyr; Dionysius[2] of Corinth warned the Church of Nicomedia against him; Theophilus, Melito, and the Fathers of the early Church in general regarded him as one of the most formidable enemies of Christianity. He differed from the thorough Gnostics in the following points: (1) he took more interest in redemption than in speculation, and laid stress on faith rather than on knowledge; (2) in accordance with this practical view of religion, he founded an organised Church and not a philosophic school; (3) he explained the Old Testament literally and not allegorically.

Marcion.

Yet he differed from the Catholics more widely than he differed from the Gnostics. (*a*) He declared

[1] Ancient authorities for Marcion are too numerous to be quoted here in full; but see Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 27; iii. 4; Tert. *adv. Marc.*; Hipp. *Ref.* vii. 29; Ps.-Tert. c. 17.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23.

Christ's human body to be a "phantom." He said that the Son of God was not born, but assumed the appearance of a full-grown man and appeared suddenly in the time of Pontius Pilate. (*b*) He taught that the God of *love* revealed in Christ is different from the subordinate God who created the world, and who is a God of stern *justice* and anger. (*c*) He rejected the Old Testament as the work of the subordinate God, and rejected every part of the New Testament which appeared to him to be out of harmony with the teaching of S. Paul.

It is doubtful whether any Gnostic carried Anti-Semitism further than Marcion. The distinction which S. Paul draws between Law and Gospel, a distinction which in no way hinders Christianity from "establishing the law" (Rom. iii. 31), Marcion exaggerated into an absolute opposition. He expounded his views on the subject in a work called the *Antitheses, i.e.* the antagonisms between the Old Testament and the New Testament. He tried to find a metaphysical explanation for these antagonisms and found it in the Gnostic theory of a supreme God and an inferior God. He held that it would be blasphemy to suppose that the supreme God created the world, this is the *blasphemia creatoris.* He carried out this principle to such an extreme that whereas he held that the heathen would be saved, he taught that the holy men of the Old Testament who had kept the commandments and lived under the sway of the Creator, would be left in Hades. Believing that S. Paul was the only apostle who had understood Christ, he only retained the most Pauline Gospel, that according to S. Luke. Besides this "Gospel" he formed an

Marcion's Bible.

"Apostle," or collection of apostolic Epistles. These were ten Epistles of S. Paul. The Epistles to Timothy and Titus were not included in his "Apostle," and this has sometimes been urged as a proof that they were not regarded as authentic by the Church at this time. But Marcion doubtless rejected them because they contain several verses which are absolutely contrary to his theory. And we can say this with entire confidence, because he cut out similar verses in the other Epistles and also left out the beginning of S. Luke's Gospel. Like other rigorists of this time, he forbade marriage and the use of meat. Audacious as was his attempt to press S. Paul into his service, he was certainly not more culpable than some important modern critics who have refused to recognise as authentic anything that fails to favour their own views about the relation of S. Paul to the Christianity of the first apostles. And his life was severely ascetic, so that no one could accuse him of being guilty of that antinomianism which his theology seemed to encourage. Hippolytus compares him to a Cynic and Tertullian, who is our chief authority, to a Stoic. The latter tells us that he repented of his heresy and sought to be readmitted to the Church. The terms imposed upon him were that he should win back the souls whom he had perverted. He died before he was able to perform this penance.

After Marcion's death, some variations were made in Marcionite teaching. Some Marcionites believed in three supernatural agencies—the good, the bad, and the just as an intermediate between the two former. Apelles, one of the most important Marcionites, believed in the unity of the divine power. He attributed the creation

of the visible world to a "notable angel," and regarded the God of Israel as an "opposing spirit." Thanks to their practical organisation and comparatively simple teaching, the Marcionites remained a powerful sect in the fourth century. One of the earliest known Christian churches is a Marcionite church built in 318 in Palestine.

Marcionism pretended to reform Christianity on the lines of the doctrine of S. Paul, and very soon afterwards an attempt was made to reform Christianity on lines suggested by the writings of S. John.[1]

Montanus.

About 157 there began in Asia Minor an enthusiastic movement known as Montanism, and intended to prepare for the immediate return of Christ. But little of the oldest Montanist literature now remains. The first Montanists collected the utterances of their seers, and some statements made by the prophetesses Priscilla, Maximilla, and Quintilla remain in the pages of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Epiphanius. The last writer often quotes a *Prophecy of Montanus*. A Montanist named Themison wrote a "general Epistle" after the manner of some of the apostles. Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, and Serapion of Antioch, all wrote against Montanism. Other opponents were Apollonius, whose work was known to S. Jerome, and an anonymous Catholic traveller who visited Ancyra about 191, and whose work was known to Eusebius. He found Montanism rampant in Galatia and opposed a Montanist named Asterius. The extreme opponents of the Montanists

[1] For Montanism, see Eus. *H. E.* v. 14, 16-19; Hipp. *Ref.* viii. 19, x. 25; Tertullian, Ps.-Tert. c. 21; Epiph. *Haer.* 48.

were the Alogi, who denied the authenticity of S. John's Gospel in their desire to leave no weapon in the hand of the new prophets.

In apostolic times the prophet was a teacher guided by the Holy Spirit to speak for the glory of Christ in a manner intelligible to himself and to others, and peculiarly adapted for the conversion of unbelievers. Belief in such prophecy was universal. In the New Testament we find the prophets Judas and Agabus, not to mention S. John's prophecy or "Revelation." In later times we find the daughters of Philip and Quadratus, and even after 150 Christians still believed that some of their number possessed the gift of prophecy. Montanus, a mutilated priest of Cybele who became converted to Christianity, took advantage of this belief, and combined it with those elements of ecstasy and melancholy excitement which were native to the heathenism of Asia Minor. He began to teach at Ardabau in Mysia that he was "the Lord God almighty," and "the Father and the Son and the Paraclete," that is, he believed himself to be the passive instrument of the Holy Spirit, whom he possessed in the fullest conceivable manner. He taught an extreme asceticism, forbade marriage and laid down rigorous rules about fasting. He was joined by two rich women, Priscilla and Maximilla. Both prophesied in the same extravagant manner as their leader. Maximilla said that the Lord had sent her to share in His work as His interpreter. Priscilla believed that Christ himself appeared to her in a female form. Every effort was made to destroy the social and civil ties by which Christians were bound; and in order to prepare for the coming of Christ and the

descent of the New Jerusalem upon earth, an endeavour was made to found a new Christian commonwealth in Phrygia.

Montanism as a Revival.

Montanism was able to appear superficially as a revival of primitive Christianity. In the first place the earliest generation of Christians had eagerly looked for the immediate return of their ascended Lord. And in the second place the extravagances of Gnosticism had made it so necessary for the Church to insist upon the fixed character of her doctrines, her scriptures, and her ministry that less room seemed to be left for private inspiration. Montanism therefore appeared to revive primitive hopes and primitive freedom. At the same time Montanism was a novelty. The real parallels to it in recent times are to be found in the pretended revelations of the Mormons, and in the preparations for the second advent made by the Irvingites and other sects whose originality has still more clearly passed the verge of eccentricity. The Montanists claimed that their prophecy was a new prophecy. They held that it added something to the revelation given to the first disciples, and even that "the Paraclete said more things in Montanus than Christ uttered in the Gospel, and not only more but even greater and better."[1] And the Catholics attacked them on the ground that true prophecy is rational, whereas the Montanists delivered their prophecies in a state of frenzy and maintained that the prophet is merely passive, like a lyre struck by the Holy Spirit. Miltiades, a Catholic critic of Montanism, wrote a book to the effect that "a prophet must

[1] Tert. *de Praescr.* 52.

not speak in ecstasy," and Bishop Sotas of Anchialus treated Priscilla as one possessed by an evil spirit whom he tried to exorcise. Various synods, the earliest synods known to us in the history of the Church, were held to condemn Montanism. And about 180, Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla being all dead, the heresy would probably have retreated within its original limits in Asia Minor, if the persecution of Marcus Aurelius had not given Montanism a new lease of life. Enthusiastic natures encouraged themselves to meet martyrdom by their conviction that the troubles of the time were only the darkness before the dawn. Believing that Jesus would "come quickly," they exhorted all men to keep their lights burning and their loins girded. And the exhortation passed from the East to the West.

Bishop Soter of Rome (166 to 173) had condemned the Phrygian heresy. But in 177 the close connection between Gaul and Asia brought the question again to the fore. The heroic martyrs who were imprisoned at Lyons wrote about it to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome. Irenaeus, then only a presbyter, was chosen to carry their letter to Eleutherus. So far as we can learn, neither Irenaeus nor Eleutherus took any drastic measures, but acted with a judicious mildness which robbed the Montanists in Lyons and Rome of the satisfaction of feeling that they must protest against their bishop. Soon afterwards a celebrated ascetic named Proclus actively propagated Montanism in Rome, though he seems to have conformed more closely to the Church than his friends in Asia Minor.[1] Tertullian declares that the

[1] Tert. *adv. Val.* 5.

bishop of Rome acknowledged the prophecies of Montanus and his female coadjutors. Then an Asiatic named Praxeas exposed the nature of Montanism and induced the bishop to condemn it. Unfortunately, Tertullian does not tell us the bishop's name. Probably it was Victor the successor of Eleutherus. About 210 the Roman presbyter Caius wrote against Proclus.

In the fervid soil of North Africa Montanism found a congenial home. For some years a rigorist group within the Church showed sympathy with its principles, and among this group was the great Tertullian. He left the Church about 202. Others followed in 207. Tertullian devoted his genius to the vain effort of trying to prove that Montanism was both a restoration and a development of primitive Christianity. His anti-Catholic writings *On Fasting*, *Against the Psychical*, *On Chastity*, show the narrow infatuation of an earnest and brilliant intellect. He tells us of the ecstasies of a sister who had held converse with the Lord, and had seen a human soul which resembled air. But as a rule the later Western Montanists were not addicted to the spiritualism of Phrygia. They distinguished themselves from the Catholics by repudiating neither the creed, nor the canon of scripture, nor episcopacy. They were the champions of rigorous discipline. They forbade second marriages. And whereas Catholics fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays until three o'clock, the Montanists fasted until six. They extolled martyrdom and forbade flight in persecution. Finally, they threw themselves with the utmost fanaticism against the practice of the Church which granted absolution and readmission to communion to those Christians who had

Western Montanism.

been guilty of any deadly sin and then repented. The Montanists were right in believing that they were maintaining a rule which prevailed in many places before the year 220. But there is no ground for believing that this mistaken rigorism was apostolic. We must therefore say that Montanist prophecy, like Montanist discipline, was not a revival, but a reaction. The Montanists or Cataphrygians, as they were often called, existed in Asia Minor until A.D. 722, and "Tertullianists" were to be found in Carthage until A.D. 425.

We have noticed that Marcion was opposed to marriage, and that the Montanists at first endeavoured to detach themselves from ordinary life and duty. But in other religious communities, and even among the Catholics, there were men and women who demanded from all believers that ascetic life which our Lord only demanded from a few. The heretical *Gospel according to the Egyptians* and the *Acts of Thomas* both treat marriage as an evil from which the Christian must abstain. The more orthodox *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, an important romance written about A.D. 170, which appears to contain some genuine information about S. Paul, represents S. Paul as promising heaven only to the "continent." The Greek word for "continent" gave rise to the title "Encratite," a name which became a technical title for those whose asceticism was regarded as having a heretical character. S. Irenaeus speaks of the "affected continence" of the Gnostic Saturninus and his disciples, and among the disciples of Valentinus was a certain Julius Cassianus, a "most keen heresiarch of the Encratites," as S. Jerome calls him. S. Hippolytus about A.D. 220 also mentions Encratites who "with regard to God and Christ profess

Encratites.

the same faith as the Church."[1] And the fact that Encratism penetrated into the Church is shown by a letter of Dionysius of Corinth to Pinytus of Cnossos, A.D. 170, in which the latter is warned "not to impose the rule of continence as a heavy burden on the brethren, but to keep in view the weakness of the majority."[2] It seems plain that Pinytus had accepted the Encratite theory that abstinence from married life should be insisted upon, not occasionally, and in view of more intense devotion, but from a belief in the essential impurity of the thing renounced.

Tatian.

Eusebius reckons Tatian as a leader of the Encratites. Tatian was a Syrian trained in Greek culture, and we have described elsewhere his clever and pungent attack on heathenism (p. 74), and also his *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Gospels, a book which renders testimony of the highest value to the use of our canonical Gospels in the second century (p. 92). He unhappily left the Catholic Church about A.D. 172, and opposed marriage and the use of meat and wine. He adopted a Gnostic system of doctrine, separating the Demiurge or Creator from the most high God, and he represented the words, "Let there be light," as uttered by the Demiurge to his Superior.

Bardesanes.

An equally celebrated Syrian was the poet Gnostic Bardesanes. Born on July 11th, A.D. 154, at Edessa, he was brought up at the royal court, and became a heathen priest. He survived the overthrow of his friend King Abgar VIII. by Caracalla in 216, and lived till the end of the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus (218–222). Abgar became a Christian in 206 and Bardesanes apparently followed

[1] *Ref.* viii. 20. [2] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23.

his example. After Edessa fell into the hands of the Romans he preached Christianity in Armenia, though without result. But he left behind him many Syrian disciples. He wrote 150 hymns or psalms, an epistle against the Marcionites, and a letter to the Emperor Antoninus. His hymns were so popular in the fourth century that S. Ephraim the Syrian wrote orthodox compositions in order to replace them. But in the fifth century Rabbûla of Edessa found that the hymns of Bardesanes were still in vogue. Eusebius has preserved part of his treatise on Destiny, and the whole of the treatise exists in Syriac. It was written about 196. We have also a fine Syriac poem called "The Hymn of the Soul," and apparently written by a member of his sect. We have no clear knowledge of the heresy of Bardesanes, but it seems to have been of the Valentinian type. Eusebius says that he afterwards came to hold better opinions, "but did not altogether cleanse himself from the stain of his old heresy." This change of mind is also testified by the treatise on Destiny, in which Bardesanes denounces astrology, to which, he says, he was formerly addicted.[1]

[1] For Bardesanes see Hipp. *Ref.* vii. 31; Eus. *H.E.* iv. 30; *Praep. Ev.* vi. 10.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH AGAINST PAGANISM

THE most eloquent defence of Christianity was the blood of Christian men and women. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," said Tertullian. This is attested by early accounts of the martyrs, and is easy to believe. In prison, or before the magistrate, or on the place of execution, the martyrs won converts. Not only the death but the life of Christians acted in some measure as their defence. And Origen asks whether the blameless conduct of the disciples of Jesus ought not to silence all calumny, so that they might remain silent like their Master when He was taken to judgment. But when thoughtful pagans began to enter the Church in growing numbers, and clever scoffers began to write against Christianity, it was almost inevitable that Christian "Apologies" should be written.

The Apologists.

The intention of the Apologists was twofold. First, they tried to represent Christianity as a revealed philosophy without denying that Greek philosophy was itself guided by God in many ways. Secondly, they tried to defend the sound morals of the Christians and their staunch loyalty towards the State. In this way they hoped

both to check persecution and to gain converts. Many of the most important Apologies have been lost, such as those by Miltiades, Apollinaris, and Melito of Sardis. We have also lost the earliest Apology of all, that presented to Hadrian at Athens about 125. It was written by a certain *Quadratus*, and Eusebius quotes a passage of it in which Quadratus speaks of the miracles wrought by Christ and says that some of the persons so healed survived to his own period.[1] It is therefore almost impossible to identify the author, as S. Jerome did, with a Quadratus who was bishop of Athens about 170.

Aristides.

Marcianus Aristides wrote an Apology which has passed through a most romantic history. As late as the eighteenth century there was circulated in England a story called *Barlaam and Josaphat*. The story is of Buddhist origin and attained immense popularity throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, when it was believed to be the work of a Greek saint. A portion of the Apology of Aristides was found in an Armenian version in 1870, and in 1889 Professor Rendel Harris found a complete Syriac version in the monastery of Mount Sinai. The next year he found that the Greek version of *Barlaam and Josaphat* contains the original Apology. It is put into the mouth of Nachor, a sage who intends to undo the conversion of Josaphat to Christianity and is inspired to make a strong defence of Christianity and so converts himself. The Syriac version represents an older and better version of the Greek. The writer thoughtfully describes God in the language of Greek philosophy. All mankind is divided into (1) "The

[1] Eus. *H.E.* iv. 3.

worshippers of the gods acknowledged among you"; (2) Jews; (3) Christians. The first class is subdivided into Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians, the object being to work up to a climax of superstition. This is done very effectively by mentioning the Egyptian worship of the pig and the crocodile. The author brushes aside the explanation that the chronicles of the gods are only nature-myths. "For, if the stories about them be mythical, the gods are nothing more than mere names." Judaism is temperately described, and there is a dignified account of the Christian life.

The date is disputed. Eusebius, Jerome, and the Armenian version say that it was presented to Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). The Syriac says the same, but then adds these words: "The Emperor Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens." Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) did bear the name of Hadrian, and many critics think this dedication is correct. But we can hardly be accused of rashness if we prefer the high authority of Eusebius to that of the Syriac version.

S. Justin Martyr.

S. Justin Martyr was a native of Flavia Neapolis, the ancient Sichem. Born about A.D. 100, of a pagan family, he was driven abroad by the unsettled state of the country. He had received the usual training of a Greek, and turned from one school of philosophy to another in the hope of satisfying both heart and mind. Only Platonism seemed to give him any real enlightenment, but at Ephesus he met an old man who pointed him to the Jewish prophets, and from the prophets to Christ. He was converted and then went to Rome, still wearing his philosopher's cloak, but teaching a

new philosophy. He wrote against Marcion and the Gnostics, but of his books only three remain: (1) an Apology addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius; (2) a Second Apology addressed to the Roman Senate; (3) a Dialogue with the Jew Trypho.

The *First Apology* was probably written in 152. It is of extraordinary interest and deals with three main questions: (*a*) the injustice of the suspicions against Christian morality and loyalty; (*b*) the nature of Christian belief; (*c*) the nature of Christian practice and worship. He shows that the charges of Atheism, immorality and revolutionary projects are all unfounded. Christian teaching makes for righteousness; and though the Christians are Atheists towards the pagan gods, does that constitute Atheism? They worship "the Father of all righteousness, and temperance, and virtue." Expecting the resurrection and the judgment they abstain from evil. Justin supports Christian doctrine by references to heathen mythology and heathen philosophy. Believing as he does that the manifestation of our Lord is the supreme satisfaction of the human heart, he does not think it strange that this satisfaction should have been anticipated by a belief in heroes, "sons of the gods," some of whom were said to have been born of a virgin. Unlike the modern Christian who sees in such anticipations the preparing hand of God, Justin thinks that they are the work of evil spirits. He appeals to the fulfilment of prophecy. And he shows that even the heathen who lived before Christ came were morally responsible. They were capable of sharing in that divine Word or Reason who is present in every man, and who influenced all who acted righteously. Socrates

and Heraclitus, and all who lived according to reason, were Christians. At the end Justin describes Baptism and the Sunday Eucharist simply and beautifully "for fairness' sake."

The *Second Apology* is shorter. It was called forth by a gross miscarriage of justice. A Roman lady who has led a profligate life, and is married to a man who persists in unnatural vice, is converted to Christianity. She finally feels compelled to send her husband a writ of divorce. He, in revenge, betrays her as a Christian, and also a certain Ptolemaeus, by whom she had been converted. The prefect Lollius Urbicus condemned Ptolemaeus to death, and then condemned a second Christian, Lucius, who had challenged his decision, and then another who did the same. Justin therefore addresses this appeal to the Senate. It is a short and vigorous defence of Christian morality.

The *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* records a conversation which Justin held with a liberal Jew at Ephesus. Both disputants believe in one true God and in the Old Testament. Justin undertakes to prove from the Old Testament that the ceremonial law may be lawfully disregarded, that Jesus is the pre-existent, incarnate, risen Son of God, and that the Gentiles are called to share the Gospel. The book is a mine of early Christian interpretation. Justin is able to point out that the Old Testament has foretold a universal religion and a new covenant, and that it does contain more than one hint that God is not a solitary monad. He adopts, however, a somewhat defiant attitude towards the ceremonial law. He does not, like S. Paul, regard it as holding an integral place in God's plan for the world's salvation, but regards it as a divinely

sanctioned makeshift. Thus the Sabbath was instituted because the Jews forgot God, and a temple was ordered because they worshipped images.

Justin was martyred at Rome under the prefect Junius Rusticus in 165.

Tatian, a pupil of Justin, wrote a *Discourse to the Greeks* about 155 or 160. It is the most paradoxical and piquant of the earlier Apologies. The militant tone of Tatian is not unlike that of Tertullian; it is not defensive but aggressive. We may doubt if it convinced many pagans. But we cannot deny that it throws a very important light on contemporary heathenism. Justin and Clement appealed, and rightly appealed, to the teaching of Greek philosophers. Tatian and Tertullian exposed, and rightly exposed, what paganism meant for ordinary men and women. Tatian saw that paganism had done almost nothing to purify common life. He tells us of the disgusting Greek statues in the streets of Athens and Rome, of the horrors of the amphitheatre, of the human sacrifices which were still offered in Italy. He laughs at the popular mythology, and asks what *is* the hair of Berenice, and how was Antinous fixed in the moon. The philosophers do not escape his lash. Aristotle was a flatterer, who was led about like a tame bear; Plato was a gourmand; and Heraclitus, who professed a knowledge of medicine, tried to cure his dropsy by plastering himself with filth. It is unfortunate that Tatian's clever, critical spirit was too restless to find a permanent home in the Church, and that he lapsed into heresy (see p. 67).

Tatian.

Athenagoras, according to doubtful later traditions, was an Athenian and a philosopher, who became the

first head of the "Catechetical School" of Alexandria. If so, he is probably the man to whom the Alexandrian Boethus dedicated a book on Plato. The two books which he wrote are a *Plea for the Christians*, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and therefore written between 177 and 180, and a book *On the Resurrection*. Their tone is Platonic and their diction smooth, and the author makes many quotations from the Greek poets. The *Plea* is specially directed against the charges of "Atheism, incest like that of Œdipus, and cannibal feasts like that of Thyestes."

Athenagoras.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, wrote three treatises *To Autolycus* about 180. The author was a learned man, knowing both Greek and Hebrew, and was converted to Christianity after reaching manhood. His first treatise is on belief in God and the resurrection. The author gives Plato the highest place among the philosophers of Greece, but attacks him for approving of a community of wives. The second treatise describes the Creation and the Fall. The third criticises the Agnosticism and Atheism of some Greek philosophers, and asserts the greater accuracy and antiquity of the Scriptures when compared with Greek historical books. Theophilus shows us that Christianity was sometimes scorned for being a new religion, and hence like Tatian he is anxious to prove that it is the oldest faith.

Theophilus.

The *Epistle to Diognetus*, of which the only known manuscript was burnt in 1870 in the siege of Strassburg, is an elegant little treatise explaining Christianity to a pagan who wishes to understand it. The date of the work is uncertain, but

The Epistle to Diognetus.

it was perhaps addressed to the Diognetus who was a tutor of Marcus Aurelius. It shows some close affinities with the Apology of Aristides, and is possibly based upon it.

Minucius Felix.

Minucius Felix, the author of the Apology called *Octavius*, is the earliest known writer of a Christian document in the Latin language. It is, indeed, held by some writers of repute that the book betrays a knowledge of the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian, and therefore dates from the third century. The problem remains unsolved, but it seems more likely that the *Octavius* is the prior work. It is highly probable that in the time of Marcus Aurelius some Latin Apology would appear similar to the Greek Apologies. And the language of the *Octavius*, which in many ways shows the influence of Cicero and the great Latin poets, is distinctly more classical and less popular than that of Tertullian. It fits with the second century better than the third. The story tells how Caecilius, a refined pagan, walks on an autumn evening by the sea at Ostia with two Christian friends, Octavius and Minucius. Caecilius, noticing an image of Serapis, kisses his hand to it according to the usual custom. A discussion then begins. Caecilius speaks first, and delivers a lively attack on Christianity. In this attack the author has given us a very clever picture of the way in which Christianity was ridiculed in the Vanity Fair of the period. Caecilius is really an Agnostic at heart. He first attacks Christianity on the Epicurean ground, and sneers at the idea of questions which occupy the learned being settled by the dogmatism of a vulgar sect. If there must be a religion, men should respect

the established worship. Then he changes his position and urges that the old gods have always helped their worshippers, an idea not unnatural in those who saw the material prosperity of Rome. Thirdly, the meetings of the Christians are immoral, they eat children, they worship the head of an animal, they are more foolish than the Jews, who at least had a temple and sacrifices, they believe in the absurd doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and they are miserable in spite of their God. The accuracy of one feature in this picture of heathen prejudice has been wonderfully confirmed by the discovery at Rome of a rough heathen caricature of a crucifix, in which the figure has the head of an ass: underneath is scrawled, "Alexamenos is worshipping his God."

The reply of Octavius consists of a criticism of Agnosticism, an attack on the inconsistency of combining this Agnosticism with the gross popular heathenism, and an admirable defence of the Christians. We need no image of God, for we believe that He is not far from us. Immortality and the resurrection will not seem absurd to a student of Plato and Pythagoras. As for our moral character, the gaols contain no Christians but those who are imprisoned for conscience' sake. "We do not speak great things, but live them."

After this brief review of the principal Apologies, it will be well to describe the general lines of their attack and their defence more minutely.

Ethics of the Apologies.

First and foremost the Apologists were strong in their attack upon pagan conduct. They had no sympathy for the delicate indelicacy of contemporary art, nor could they excuse an immorality which was consecrated to the gods on the

ground that it was the expression of some impulse towards the ideal. The intense degradation of pagan life is half unknown to the modern readers who have not heard of the aquatic sports at Antioch, of the rites of Cybele at Byzantium, of the market of unnatural vice in the streets of Rome, of the art which was not "for art's sake." The morality of the early Apologists is severe, but it is by no means sour. It is impossible to think of Justin or Minucius Felix existing through a melancholy old age such as is described by Cephalus in the *Republic* of Plato: "At our meetings the tale of my acquaintance commonly is—I cannot eat, I cannot drink; the pleasures of youth and love are fled away: there was a good time once, but that is gone, and now life is no longer life." The element of joyousness in early Christian literature is part of its constant attraction. And that the lives of Christians acted as a missionary force can be proved by many instances. The populace, probably at the instigation of the Jews, accused the Christians of the grossest libertinism. Educated people sometimes believed, or professed to believe, these calumnies against Christian morals, just as Chinese officials in recent years have tolerated the circulation of the foulest charges against Christian missionaries. Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, appears to have done this; and Apuleius makes one of his characters whose soul he describes as a "filthy cesspool," a Christian woman. But the more careful heathen observers could make no answer to the Christian challenge.[1] Pliny in 112 had noted that the

[1] The Christians were often reproached with being a "tertium genus," a third race. It is probable that this phrase was first used by the Christians, as signifying that they were the children of Christ

Christian congregations bound themselves "to abstain from theft, brigandage, and adultery, to keep their word, and not to refuse to restore what had been entrusted to their charge." Lucian's picture of the Christians leaves them their purity and courage. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius allow that they meet death bravely, though they admit the fact with very bad grace. The physician Galen goes further, in a very interesting allusion which he makes to the Christians. He says: "The majority of men cannot mentally keep pace with a continuous argument, and consequently need to be instructed in parables. As in our own time we see that those men who are called Christians have derived their faith from parables. Nevertheless they sometimes do the same things as genuine philosophers. For the fact that they despise death is a thing that we see with our own eyes, also that they are led by a certain modesty to abhor unchastity. For there are among them both women and men who have lived in continence during their whole life, and there are also those who in the ruling and the guidance of their tempers, and in their keen pursuit of integrity have advanced so far, that they yield nothing to genuine philosophers."

No testimony could be more decisive. And it can be supplemented by the numerous proofs which we possess of the generosity and philanthropy of the early Christians. Justin shows how closely almsgiving was connected with Christian worship. Orphans, widows,

and distinct from the Greeks and the Jews (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 5, 41; Aristides, *Apol.* 2; Justin, *Dial.* 123). But in Tertullian's time it was used as an insult by the heathen (see *ad Nat.* i. 8; i. 20; *Scorp.* 10). The clue to this is to be found in Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 23—"Tertium genus hominum eunuchos esse dicebat."

prisoners, and the sick were all remembered. Marcion, when he arrived at Rome about A.D. 139, before he left the Catholic Church, brought to the Church a gift of 200,000 sesterces, and in A.D. 250 the Roman Church supported 1,500 needy persons. Aristides shows us that Christians used to fast in order to save money for the benefit of the poor. Orphans were adopted and the dead were buried. Though slaves were kept, their position was in every way improved; they were treated as "brothers in spirit, fellow-servants in religion." It is a remarkable and instructive fact that no early Christian inscription has been discovered with the designation of "slave" upon it.

Theology of the Apologies.

The philosophy of the Apologists in its theological side is also of great interest. Their Apologies do not necessarily give us a complete account of their belief, for several of them wrote works of a more theological kind which we no longer possess. It is incorrect to affirm that it was not until after their date that Irenaeus and other writers first combined philosophical theology with the doctrines of the Gospels and the creed. The Apologists made the same combination, though the result was not in every point a success. Their conception of God is strongly influenced by the later form of Platonism. To them God the Father is, as the Bible affirms, the Creator and Lawgiver of the universe. His real Fatherhood is not forgotten. And yet sometimes the idea of God seems shadowy and abstract, and God appears as the absolute supra-mundane Being. Justin declares that God is nameless, Minucius Felix insists on the incomprehensible character of God, and Aristides on the fact that He is without needs. God

appears to be regarded as a Spirit who is the opposite of the world and of everything finite. Many of these sayings on the part of the Apologists are true and dignified. And if they sometimes show a touch of exaggeration, we can find a reason for it in the just detestation which the writers felt towards the gross pagan mythology which represented the gods as "of like passions with ourselves."

How was it possible to bridge the distance between the unseen God and the material world, in which, as Christians, they believed that God acts? The Apologists found an answer in their doctrine of the Logos (Reason and Word) of God, a doctrine which they found in S. John's Gospel, though they were too much influenced by contemporary philosophy to do full justice to S. John's meaning. The Jewish Targums speak of the Word of God when they wish to describe God as made manifest in His action on the world. And S. John, convinced by personal experience of the true Divinity of Jesus Christ, declared that Jesus is the Word and that the Father is in Him acting upon the world. Greek philosophers, also, were wont to speak of the Logos, by which they meant the orderly and harmonious life which is manifested in nature. But here arose a difference. The Stoics thought not only that the Logos was God, but that God was immanent in nature in such a fashion that nature and God were one and the same. The Platonists, on the other hand, tended to distinguish the Logos rather sharply from God, and at this time even inclined to deny the immanence of God in nature, and to think that God governed the world by numerous intermediate half-divine beings.

Doctrine of the Logos.

Now the Apologists were too sure of the spiritual being of God to confuse Him with nature. And they were profoundly influenced by the truth that the Son is the Mediator between God and man. They were therefore inclined to present Christianity to their readers in a Platonic form. The result is that though the Apologists all strongly assert that the Son is God, and show their belief in the Holy Trinity, they occasionally make a wider separation between the Father and the Son than we find in S. John. They suggest that the Logos is not as eternal and as personal as the Father. They were nevertheless convinced that the Logos is divine, and they endeavoured to prove to educated pagans that this Logos, whom even the pagans know and recognise, is fully manifested in Jesus. The power of our Lord over nature showed Him to be the Agent in creation, and the teaching of our Lord showed Him to be the Father's revealed Reason. Even if it be true that the Apologists sometimes regarded Christ too exclusively as the key to a philosophic explanation of the universe, their devotion to Him is unquestionable, and they really did much to vindicate the worship which Christians had always paid to the Son of Mary.

The Old Testament a bulwark of Christianity.

The Old Testament occupied a very important place in the defence of Christianity which the Apologists made. The Gnostics regarded it as a millstone around the neck of Christianity and represented it as the work of an inferior or evil deity. Even Marcion, in spite of his claim to represent S. Paul's theology, threw the Old Testament overboard. The Catholics were wiser, and found it of the greatest value. It not

only moulded the language of Christian piety, but also exercised a converting influence over the heathen. Tatian expressly attributes his conversion to the study of the Old Testament, and so does the author of the *Preaching of Peter*.[1] The former in a very remarkable passage tells us how much he was impressed by the unstudied simplicity of the Old Testament, by the story of the creation, by the prophecies, by the moral teaching, and by the doctrine of the sovereign unity of God. The biblical account of the creation, which as modern investigation has shown, differs from the kindred Babylonian story by its magnificent monotheism, was exactly fitted to attract the more intelligent pagans of the time. The biblical moral teaching appealed to "the soul naturally Christian." The antiquity of the Old Testament fascinated those who were curious as to the history of the world, and this antiquity is triumphantly claimed by Tertullian as well as by earlier writers. The prophecies also, as Justin says, "kindled a fire in the soul." His own arguments from prophecy are not always convincing. He now uses as an argument some graceful fancy, such as the idea that the twelve bells on the ephod of the high priest were a symbol of the twelve apostles, whose voice made known the grace of God. Sometimes he makes a critical mistake, but he is probably right when he asserts that Isaiah foretold that a *virgin* should conceive and bear a son, while his Jewish opponent, who employs the translation of Aquila, urges that Isaiah only said that a *young woman* should conceive and bear a son. Speaking generally, we may say that the Apologists successfully appealed to the fulfilment of

[1] Tatian, *Orat.* 29; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15; *cf.* Justin, *Dial.* 7.

Old Testament prophecy as a proof that Jesus Christ was sent by God and as a proof of His assertion that He would judge the world. They also made good use of the fact that the prophets represent the true religion as universal and not confined to the Hebrew race. Here again they were successful; about A.D. 150 the Jewish missions among the Greeks and Romans came almost to a standstill, while the Christian missions spread far and wide.

Note on Justin's interpretation of Isa. vii. 1 seqq.—The reader may profitably consult the valuable note in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x. p. 580, by Professor C. F. Burney, who gives very solid reasons for holding that Isaiah believed that the Messiah would be born of a virgin. Professor Burney also shows that the term used by Isaiah is not unlike "maiden" and "damsel," terms which "do not in themselves connote virginity, yet would scarcely be used of any but an unmarried woman." The traditional Christian interpretation is therefore to be regarded as correct.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH AGAINST HERESY

GNOSTICISM and Montanism had tried to make for themselves a lodgment within "the house of God," and the result was a terrible inner crisis for the Church. But the crisis was an almost unmixed blessing. It taught Christians to lay emphasis upon certain truths which they now cherished with double earnestness. The controversy with heathenism had helped them to know that Christianity is the religion of right reason, and the controversy with heresy helped them to realise that Christianity is the religion of divine authority. God is not the Author of confusion but of peace. He does not sanction wayward plans for the execution of His will, and obedience to the lawful authority which Christ gave to His Church no more injures real freedom than obedience to the laws of health.

The Inner Crisis.

This authority sanctioned three institutions which were now recognised to be of first-rate importance in opposing the novelties of sectarianism. These three institutions are Episcopacy, the Canon or authentic list of New Testament books, and the Creed.

The value of having one representative and governor

of the Church in every city or district was, as we have seen, probably recognised by the apostles themselves before their death. In the letters of S. Ignatius (A.D. 110) we find that this governor, or bishop, is already called the *Episkopos*, or overseer, a title which had originally belonged either to the presbyters or, less probably, to a select group of experienced presbyters. S. Ignatius evidently regarded bishops as essential not only to the well-being, but to the very being of the Church. A little later we find how really important the office of a bishop had become. As each local Church had its representative and organ in its bishop, he naturally took the lead in all intercourse with foreign Catholics, as well as in public worship and in the administration of charity, finance, and discipline. Thus we find that Hegesippus, the Palestinian Christian traveller who visited Rome about 160, expected to find, and did find, bishops wherever he went.[1] And we hear of such great bishops as Anicetus and his predecessors at Rome, Melito at Sardis, Pothinus and Irenaeus at Lyons, Dionysius at Corinth, Polycrates at Ephesus. The special value of episcopacy at this time was to be found in the fact that the succession of bishops in each particular city was a guarantee for the correctness of the traditions of the Church. This was especially the case when the succession of the bishops could be traced to apostolic times, as at Rome where Linus the first bishop was believed to have been appointed by S. Peter and S. Paul. And the fact that the bishops were often men of advanced years was sometimes an additional

Episcopacy.

Bishops as guardians of tradition.

[1] Eus. *H.E.* iv. 22.

guarantee that they kept the true tradition. In fact the very short tenure of office which Eusebius seems to ascribe to the Hebrew Christian bishops of Jerusalem is probably to be explained by the theory that each presbyter who became bishop was elected bishop in order of seniority. Moreover, episcopacy was a guarantee in a more sacred sense. As the miraculous ministerial gifts or "charismata" became less frequent in the apostolic age, the power for government given by the Holy Spirit to the Church expressed itself in another and more permanent form. So S. Timothy received from S. Paul by the laying on of hands, the special "charisma" for his office. He is told to guard "the deposit" of the faith, and to commit it "to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii. 2). The succession of the bishops from the apostles as the chief visible authority in the Church was similarly manifested outwardly by the laying on of hands. And so S. Irenaeus speaks of the bishop as possessing "the charismata of the Lord."[1] By spiritual endowment as well as by natural opportunity the bishop was fitted to teach wholesome doctrine. And this principle of apostolical succession laid down in germ by S. Paul, and described by S. Clement before the close of the first century, was during the second century seen to be one of the great preservatives of the Church.

The Gnostics could not overthrow it by any convincing rival theory. Basilides might appeal to Glaucias, a supposed interpreter of S. Peter, Valentinus to Theodas, a friend of S. Paul, the Ophites to Mariamne and to S. James, the Lord's brother. These pretensions were of little value when the bishops of Rome and

[1] *adv. Haer.* iv. 26, 5.

Corinth and Jerusalem could testify that their Churches had never known the doctrines which the Gnostics attributed to the holy men who had planted those Churches. Rome was a specially valuable authority in this connection. For its central position made the Church in Rome a compendium and a concentration of the Church throughout the world. So S. Irenaeus when he opposes the teaching of the Gnostics appeals to the tradition preserved in the Churches of apostolic origin. But he says: "It would be too long in such a volume as this to enumerate the successions in all the Churches." He therefore contents himself with pointing to the tradition of "that very great and very ancient and universally known Church, the Church at Rome, founded and established by the two most glorious apostles, Paul and Peter. For to this Church, on account of its more influential pre-eminence, it is necessary that every Church should resort[1]—that is to say, the faithful who are from all quarters; in which (Church) the tradition which is from the apostles has ever been preserved by those who are from all quarters." The passage says nothing whatever to support the modern Roman doctrine that the bishop of Rome is incapable of officially teaching erroneous doctrine. In fact, S. Irenaeus omits to say the one thing which from a modern Roman point of view is obvious and necessary. He does not argue that "the bishop of Rome is the infallible teacher of the Church, and as such he defines the position of the Gnostics as heretical." But he argues that "the

Rome the centre of tradition.

[1] *adv. Haer.* iii. 3. The words *convenire ad*, meaning "resort to," are sometimes wrongly translated "agree with."

bishop of Rome represents a tradition which his Church has derived from two apostles, and the Church in Rome is also the meeting point of apostolic traditions brought from all quarters by Christian travellers and this great Church witnesses to the fact that Gnosticism is heretical."

A word must be added with regard to a recent theory that the Roman Church was governed, not by a bishop, but by a body of presbyters, until the time of Anicetus or his predecessor Pius. This is directly opposed to the statements of Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, all of whom were well acquainted with Rome. No shred of any positive evidence for it exists. It rests entirely on the fact that Ignatius in writing to the Roman Church does not mention their bishop, and on a very doubtful interpretation of the Epistle of Clement and the *Shepherd* of Hermas. Let us notice that Ignatius regards episcopacy as a necessary guarantee for the unity of the Church, Clement writes to Corinth in the tone of a bishop, and is regarded as the ruler of his Church by Hermas. And in order to suppose that a presbyterian government existed at Rome until the time of Pius, when the *Shepherd* was written, we have to assume that Hegesippus and Irenaeus, both of whom drew up lists of the succession of the bishops of Rome since the time of the apostles, were wholly misinformed about a state of things which existed in their own lifetime, and that the momentous change from a presbyterian to an episcopal form of government took place without any record remaining to tell the tale. There is a similar theory that the Church of Alexandria until the middle of the third century, was not under a bishop strictly so

called, but under a presbyter appointed by his fellow-presbyters and given the name of bishop. Some of the evidence alleged for this theory is late and contradictory. By far the best evidence is that of S. Jerome, about 390, who does not say that the presbyters appointed the bishop but that they *nominated* him.[1] There can be no doubt that both at Rome and Alexandria the presbyters occupied a very high position. The body of presbyters acted with the bishop who presided over them. Even in Ignatius and Cyprian, the two greatest upholders of episcopacy, the bishop is not wholly independent, and therefore he cannot be strictly called "monarchical." But the theory that the clergy of any orthodox community could dispense with a presiding bishop, ordained by other bishops, remains entirely unproved.

Canon of the New Testament.

The next great weapon of the Church against Gnosticism was found in the Canon or list of authoritative sacred books. The Gnostics had numerous so-called Gospels and Acts of their own. In writing these compositions they drew a few facts from the genuine Christian books, an exuberant setting from their own imagination, and a style from the more romantic literature of the period. One ingenious falsehood which they invented to account for the difference between their "traditions" and the teaching of the Church, was that our Lord after His resurrection remained on earth for eighteen months, during which time He instructed a chosen few in Gnostic truth. Among Gnostic books was a *Gospel of Matthias*, a *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, the *Acts*

[1] *Epist.* cxlvi. *ad Evang.*

of Judas, an *Assumption of Paul*, and an *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Some of these forgeries passed into Catholic circles after some revision. Among them was the *Gospel of Thomas*, or "Gospel of the Infancy," a *Journey of John*, and *Acts of Peter and Paul*. Among purely Gnostic books is the *Pistis Sophia*, an Egyptian book which still exists, and the *Apocryphon of John*. And the Church, while it was assailed by these attractive literary effusions of the Gnostics, was simultaneously assailed by the prophetical effusions of the Montanists. This double assault naturally hastened the process by which the books of our New Testament were placed together in a unique position. The process was gradual, and it had begun long before the full-blown Gnosticism of A.D. 140. In fact, it seems evident that when Marcion about 144 drew up his own canon of ten Epistles of S. Paul and one Gospel, he was not making a new canon. He was drawing up a canon which was intended to correct one which existed in the Church by eliminating from it all supposed "Judaising" elements. The short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, written about 110, quotes as from Scripture no less than nine of the thirteen Epistles of S. Paul, and also quotes 1 Peter and 1 John. Papias, a contemporary of Polycarp, also used 1 Peter and 1 John. It may therefore be regarded as a certain fact that before the Church began to feel the full stress of Gnostic opposition, a collection of S. Paul's Epistles had been already made, and that some other apostolic writings were placed by their side. The Church was able to meet Marcion's somewhat crooked appeal to one apostle by an appeal which could be made with equal justice to S. Paul and to certain of the original Twelve.

Canon of the Gospels.

With regard to the Gospels, the first absolutely conclusive evidence to show that our four Gospels, and these Gospels only, had been included in a canon is afforded by Tatian. His *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Gospels, was written about 172. It is mentioned by Eusebius and other ancient writers of first-rate importance, and a commentary on it was written by S. Ephraim, a great Syrian father who died in 373. The *Diatessaron* was lost except for a few fragments, and the commentary of Ephraim was also lost. But the commentary has been found in an Armenian translation, and in 1886 an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* was also discovered. Tatian's Harmony was in Syriac, and its existence shows that the four Gospels had already been translated from Greek into Syriac, and were recognised as unique and authoritative records of the life of our Lord. A number of converging lines leads to the conclusion that the canon of four authentic Gospels is considerably older than Tatian's book. The *Shepherd* of Hermas cannot be later than about 140. It represents the Church as seated on a bench with four feet, and this bench is said to have four feet because the world is held together by four elements. The allegorical style of the book at once suggests to us that these four feet represent something then believed to be absolutely necessary for the spiritual support of the Church. And Origen and Irenaeus, who both used the *Shepherd* with approval, unite in describing the four Gospels in language which seems to be a reminiscence of this passage. It is therefore probable that they believed Hermas to be speaking of the canon of the Gospels,

and probable that he was so speaking. Justin Martyr quotes all our four Gospels, and seems also to have used some similar records. Before his time we find quotations from or allusions to all our Gospels, but we have no clear proof that they were already put together on a wholly distinct footing from all other records of our Lord. The first tendency to form such a canon appears to have risen in Asia Minor and probably before A.D. 140.

S. Irenaeus, writing about 180, shows that different sects, chiefly Gnostic, appealed to one or other of the Gospels as supplying an apostolic confirmation of their peculiar heresy. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, appeals equally to all four. Irenaeus himself attributes full authority to the four Gospels, Acts, the Epistles of S. Paul, 1 and 2 John, 1 Peter, and the Revelation. He treats them as on a level with the canonical books of the Old Testament, just as a Catholic writer of the fourth century would treat them. The *Muratorian Fragment* gives similar evidence. It is part of a Latin list of the books of the New Testament, named after Muratori, the librarian at Milan, who published it in A.D. 1740. The original was probably written in Italy about 180. Enough remains to show that the list included the four Gospels, Acts, the thirteen Epistles of S. Paul, the Revelation of S. John, two Epistles of S. John, and the Epistle of Jude. Part of the historical importance of the list is that it was plainly drawn up by the Church in self-defence during a time of controversy. It condemns the writings of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion. And it shows that the Church was only in process of deciding what

Muratorian Fragment.

ought to be accepted or rejected. For though the author himself accepts a work known as the Apocalypse of Peter, he adds, "some of our body will not have it read in the church." Then he mentions the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and says it was written "in our own times," when Pius was bishop of Rome, "wherefore the private reading of it is indeed commendable, but it can never be publicly read to the people in church whether among the Prophets . . . or among the Apostles." The whole attitude of the author towards heretical books is expressed in the words, "gall should not be mingled with honey."

To sum up. The main influences which formed the canon were (1) the liturgical custom of reading portions of the Old Testament, the Gospels, and Epistles at public worship; (2) the translation of apostolic books into Syriac, Latin, and Coptic, the range of the books so translated forming a canon in the districts where those languages were spoken; (3) the defence of the Church against heresy. The final settlement of the canon in the fourth century came after the great persecution about A.D. 300. The heathen then made a systematic attempt to destroy the books of the Church. And the practical question arose, what were the books which no Christian man could give up to the pagan persecutors without tacitly denying the religion that he was bound to defend? It was after facing this question in the Diocletian persecution that Eusebius drew up his careful list of the "acknowledged" books, of which the canonicity had been settled at the end of the second century, and the few "disputed" books. The latter were finally included in the canon at Laodicea in 363, at Rome in 382, and at Carthage in

397. It would be wrong to conclude that a book is a forgery on the ground that it remained for a long time outside the canon. The smaller Epistles naturally did not always enjoy the same wide circulation as the Gospels and the longer Epistles. Moreover, an Epistle kept in the archives of the Church of Rome, or the Church of Alexandria, plainly had a better chance than an Epistle that was straying in the highlands of Asia Minor. And an Epistle written to an individual like the Third Epistle of S. John, if preserved by an unmethodical family of Christians, might have to wait a long time before its claims were heard and it was given a place on the honoured list of the New Testament. The use of the phrase "New Testament" in the sense of this collection of writings, first occurs in Tertullian, and it is implied in Melito, who speaks of the "*Old Testament*" and therefore shows that the phrase "*New Testament*" was already in existence about 190.

The history of the Canon runs side by side with the history of the Apostles' Creed or "Symbolum" (watchword: this technical term is first found in Cyprian, Ep. 69, 7). The most searching investigation has lately been devoted to this important subject, and we can only give a very brief summary of what seems to be the result. In S. Matthew xxviii. 19 we find it recorded that our Lord commanded His disciples to baptise all men in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And as it was plainly necessary that converts should confess their belief before baptism, some formula had to be employed. The formula appears to have been simply an expansion of the words contained in our Lord's

The Creed.

command, with the addition of the most essential facts in the story of our Lord's life. It is certain that such a formula or creed was used by Irenaeus A.D. 180, and it is also certain that the different forms of the Apostles' Creed used in the West of Europe in and after the fourth century can be traced back to Rome. In Roman Africa Tertullian, about A.D. 200, had a creed, and he shows us that the Roman creed was the same as his own. It is plain, too, that the creed was not a recent creation. Irenaeus in particular speaks of it as "the unchangeable canon of the truth." We seem to find traces of it in Justin Martyr, who dwelt for a while at Rome, and there are several indications of a creed at Ephesus and in the Churches which gravitated towards Ephesus. It has been conjectured that Polycarp brought the creed from Rome to Asia Minor in A.D. 154, and also that the creed of Irenaeus was derived from the same quarter. There are, however, serious grounds for disputing these conjectures. It is true that from the declining years of the first century onwards the Church of Rome exhibited that juristic and organising genius which so long distinguished Latin Christendom. Such a Church would soon perceive the value of a creed. And it is most probable that the Roman creed existed from the first in both Latin and Greek. But the creed of S. Irenaeus does not appear to have been personally learnt by him in Rome. It contained the words *Maker of heaven and earth* after the mention of God the Father, the word *one* before "Lord Jesus Christ," and the word *suffered*. Each of these three additions was not only useful for combatting the Docetic heresy of the kind taught by Cerinthus, but

Rome and Asia Minor.

also for combatting the great Gnostic systems. And yet the Roman creed of the second century did not contain these phrases. Nor did it at this time call the Son "only-begotten" or "only," although the Eastern Christians at an early date found it useful to employ this title in their creeds in order to repudiate the heresy of Valentinus, who applied it to a semi-divine spirit, called Nous. Our conclusion is that the Roman creed is older than the controversy with the great Gnostic sects, and that it probably was in existence about A.D. 100. Asia Minor also had a similar creed, perhaps at an equally early date. And it is by no means inconceivable that these twin creeds arose from some "form of sound words" used in the apostolic age.

Outside the Churches connected with Ephesus we have less definite proofs of the existence of a creed in the East. And the preference which the Greek Churches had for an independent, though usually harmonious development, would dispose us towards the idea that they drew up separate creeds. And, as a matter of fact, we cannot trace the Eastern creeds to any one Eastern centre. Nor on the other hand is there any good reason for accepting the theory that they are derived from the Roman creed imported into the East in the third century. In all directions, and notably in Alexandria and in Syria, we find indications of indigenous creeds.[1] No one fixed creed prevailed throughout the Christian world until the great Nicene creed was put forth in A D. 325. But the Gnostic controversies helped the Christians every-

[1] *See* Dionysius in Eus. *H.E.* vii. 6; vii. 5; vii. 9; Origen, *in Joann.* xxxii. 9; *in Exod.* v. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 15.

where to realise the fundamental unity of their belief. And they caused, more especially in the East, the addition of new clauses intended to exclude Gnosticism.

CHAPTER VIII

CHURCH AND STATE A.D. 193-250

AT the close of the second and at the beginning of the third century Christianity continued to spread steadily. As early as 110 S. Ignatius spoke of bishops as extending "to the boundaries of the world." And though we cannot determine how far this is a precise statement of the facts, we can at least assert that before 180 Christianity extended in some directions beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and by 250 it was really a formidable power. Some details which bear upon the organisation of the Church into groups of bishoprics with synods that represented these bishoprics will be given in chapter xiv. In the meantime we may notice that the Church had many adherents in and around Antioch in Syria, and was planted in Edessa and Mesopotamia. The Gospels were translated into Syriac some time before 172, when Tatian wrote his *Diatessaron* or harmony of the four Gospels, which he compiled from the old Syriac version with the help of a Greek text. According to a legend recorded by Eusebius, our Lord received a letter from Abgar, King of Edessa, and promised to send him a missionary after His own ascension, and in accordance with this promise the apostle Judas sent Thaddaeus, one of the seventy

Edessa.

disciples. In any case, Christianity was certainly fixed in Edessa long before the end of the second century. From Edessa the heretic Bardesanes sent missions into Armenia. Part of Lesser Armenia was probably Christian in the time of Marcus Aurelius, as the "thundering legion" stationed at Melitene, and containing many Christian soldiers, would naturally have been recruited from that district. Greater Armenia was influenced in the third century by Greek Christian missions from Caesarea and Syrian Christian missions from Edessa, and the Christian literature of Armenia can be traced back to both these sources.

In Egypt Christianity had its centre in Alexandria, which was long the second bishopric in Christendom.

Egypt. The Church was already strong outside Alexandria. Beginning among the Greek-speaking population, it spread gradually among the natives who spoke Coptic. The Bible was translated into the Upper Egyptian dialect of Coptic, known as the Memphitic, in the second half of the third century. By that time Christianity had spread considerably among the Copts of Lower and Middle Egypt, who were better acquainted with Greek than their brethren in the interior of the country.

In Arabia there were several Christian bishoprics. But among the genuine Arabs Christianity had ap-

Arabia. parently made little advance, although Pantaenus of Alexandria, about 180, had gone as a missionary to South Arabia, called "India" by Eusebius.

In Asia Minor Christianity flourished, the Churches of Smyrna and Ephesus being foremost. For Bithynia we have the evidence of the Roman legate Pliny in

112 that Christianity had already seriously affected the worship in the heathen temples. Pontus is described by the pagan Lucian in 170 as "full of Atheists and Christians." Statistics with regard to Phrygia justify the statement of Professor Ramsay that "Christianity spread with marvellous rapidity at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century in the parts of Phrygia that lay along the road from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus, and in the neighbourhood of Iconium."[1] From the West and the South coasts, where it was already long established, Christianity was pushing its way into the North.

Asia Minor.

In the East of Europe, Christianity was to be found in Thrace and Thessaly and in Greece proper. There were Churches in Athens, in Corinth, and in Byzantium, the future Constantinople. There were also Christians in the islands of Crete and Melos.

Greece.

In Italy Rome was the centre, and the faith had penetrated deeply among the humbler classes and had won a considerable number of aristocratic converts. At the end of the second century the Roman Church had gained recognition as a "funeral corporation," and as such had secured a right to its own special cemetery. It was not yet a predominantly Latin Church. Victor, bishop of Rome from 189 to 199, seems to have been the first Roman bishop who used Latin in writing, and before him only two Latin names are found in the list of Roman bishops. The old Roman form of the Apostles' Creed is in Greek, and when S. Polycarp came to Rome in 154 he celebrated

Italy.

[1] *S. Paul the Traveller*, etc., preface, p. vii. f.

the liturgy, and we know that Greek was his language. Caius, a highly educated Roman Christian who flourished in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome from 198 to 217, wrote in Greek. Eusebius has preserved a few sentences of his work against Proclus the Montanist, and also his statement that the monuments of S. Peter and S. Paul were to be found on the Vatican and on the Ostian Way, where, in fact, the great basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul now stand. We also have five fragments of a work of S. Hippolytus against Caius, which show that Caius was opposed by Hippolytus for not receiving the Revelation of S. John into the list of the canonical books of the New Testament. Even S. Hippolytus, the celebrated Roman theologian who was exiled in 235, wrote Greek exclusively. But very soon afterwards the Roman Church was a Latin Church, as we see from the letters written about ecclesiastical matters in the middle of the century. At Naples the catacombs show that Christianity existed there probably before 200. In the North of Italy Christianity was weak: the first bishops in the important cities of Milan and Ravenna were not appointed until after 200.

In the Romanised parts of Africa Latin Christianity was particularly strong, and notably at Carthage.

Africa.

Some of the first Christians in Africa spoke Greek, as we learn from the story of the martyr Perpetua. It is with the "Acts of the Martyrs" that African Church history begins. The opening year is 180, when Christians from Madaura and Scili were put to death. The first martyr, Namphamo, bears a Punic name. But for a long time this great Church was a Latin Church, and Latin Christian literature begins with the African Tertullian. In the fourth

century the Church contained a strong Punic element and it was necessary for many bishops and priests to be bilingual.

From S. Irenaeus we find that there were Christians in Spain, and that there were "Churches planted in the Germanies"[1] by 185. The latter were undoubtedly very small. S. Irenaeus is himself the best evidence of Christianity in the South of Gaul. The faith had come thither from Asia Minor and found a home among people of Greek speech. Greek, it must be remembered, was the official language of Marseilles until the fifth century, and even now it has left traces in the dialects of southern France. Irenaeus, however, was surrounded by Celtic converts, and diligently studied the Celtic language for their benefit.

Gaul.

As for Britain, we cannot trust the legend of the sixth century that Pope Eleutherus corresponded with a British king named Lucius. And though it is quite possible that Tertullian spoke truly when he implied that Christianity existed in Britain, he probably exaggerates when he says: "places of the Britains inaccessible to the Romans are subject to Christ."[2]

Britain.

The above sketch of the extent of Christianity about A.D. 200 is enough to show that Christianity could not be ignored by the State. In fact, there is repeated evidence to show that during all these sixty years Christianity had friends or actual converts at the imperial court, and was occasionally favoured with the interest of emperors and empresses. S. Irenaeus mentions "the faithful in the imperial court,"[3] and

[1] *adv. Haer.* i. 10. [2] *adv. Jud.* 7. [3] *adv. Haer.* iv. 30. 1.

Callistus, bishop of Rome, had been the slave of Carpophorus, a member of the emperor's household. We have already seen that his predecessor, Victor (A.D. 189–198), had enjoyed the help of Marcia, the favourite of Commodus, who was the most influential woman at his court. The example of the court was felt in the provinces, and a Christian writer of Asia Minor speaks of the peace as lasting.

This peace lasted until the close of the century. The Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211), a man of Punic origin, married a Syrian, Julia Domna. It was hardly likely that they would be prejudiced in favour of any specifically Roman religion, and they chose a Christian nurse for their first son, afterwards the emperor Caracalla. So Tertullian speaks of him as "brought up on Christian milk." Severus always maintained in his palace a Christian named Proculus, who had healed him by anointing him with oil, and showed favour to persons of rank who were known to be Christians.[1] In spite of this, there was in 197 a local persecution in Africa of a violent kind. It was the work of the populace, the magistrates only condemning the Christians who confessed their belief. This, however, did not prevent the infliction of torture, exile, and death, while Christian women endured sufferings which were worse than death.

Septimius Severus.

In 202 Septimius Severus adopted a new policy. He had been in the East and had seen how rapidly the Christian Church was advancing, and had also learnt of the success of some Jewish proselytising efforts. He therefore strongly forbade the circumcision of non-

[1] Tertullian, *ad Scap*, 4.

Jews, and by a rescript prohibited conversions to Christianity. Early in his reign persecution had been regulated by the old rescript of Trajan. The magistrates did not hunt for Christians. They only punished them when they were brought before them and accused. This law was not abrogated with regard to Christians in general, but it was partially abrogated in dealing with recent converts. Conversion was a legal offence, and therefore the magistrates were obliged to arrest recent converts. A special character, therefore, is given to this persecution by the martyrdom of new Christians and of catechumens. The persecution was severe, and lasted several years. In Pontus and Syria many Christians believed that the end of the world was at hand, and went into the desert to meet Christ. In Alexandria many perished, among them was Origen's father, Leonides, and Origen himself was only restrained from seeking martyrdom by the exertions of his mother. Clement of Alexandria fled, and the fourth book of his *Stromateis* is devoted to the subject of martyrdom. Most famous of all the martyrs of this time are the two North African women whose story is told in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, sacred names which are still repeated every day wherever the missal of Rome or of Milan is read at the altar. They were two of five catechumens who died at Carthage on March 7th, 202 or 203. Both women were actually baptised after they were imprisoned, and the magistrates allowed them ready intercourse with their friends and tried to rescue them. They were publicly entertained the day before their passion at a supper prepared for those condemned to be thrown

to the beasts, a meal which they converted into an *agapé*. When the hour of execution arrived the tribune attempted to array them as priestesses of Ceres, but yielded to the indignant protests of Perpetua. She died by the sword, after she had been tossed by an infuriated cow. The conduct of the martyrs converted Pudens, the governor of the prison.

Under Caracalla (A.D. 211–217), the son of Severus, there was comparative peace. Implacable ambition and jealousy had caused Caracalla to encourage the assassination of his brother Geta, and he was too busy in massacring the supposed friends of Geta to pay much attention to the Christians. Yet in Africa there was an outburst of persecution on account of the conduct of a Christian soldier who was executed for refusing to wear a festal crown of laurel when a largess was given to the soldiers by the emperor. In relation to this incident Tertullian (A.D. 212) wrote his celebrated treatise *On the Soldier's Crown*. He, like his contemporary Origen, was strongly opposed to Christians entering military service, and the question whether Christians might wear the military crown furnished him with a text for denouncing the service. Yet by this time the Christians in the army were numerous. Clement of Alexandria regarded military service as not incompatible with Christianity, Tatian and, later, Lactantius took a view similar to that of Tertullian. The rigorist views of such writers had little or no result. For, as a matter of fact, soldiers were converted, and remained soldiers. Thus, at Alexandria in 202, the soldier who led S. Potamiaena to be dipped in boiling pitch after she had defended herself against the lust of the

Caracalla.

gladiators, himself embraced the faith. He was executed. But in the Decian persecution, A.D. 251, we find that at Alexandria the whole of a corps of soldiers who were present at the judicial examination of the Christians were either Christians or friends of Christians, and ostentatiously encouraged the accused to stand firm.[1] Moreover, the "Acts of the Martyrs" abound with the names of soldiers, such as Maurice, Theodore, Nereus and Achilleus.

An interesting proof of the popularity of the idea that the Christian life is like a military service, is to be found in the fact that the word "paganus" almost certainly means a "civilian;" that is, a man who is not a soldier of Christ.

Caracalla and his Syrian mother, Julia Domna, who was an accomplished patroness of literature, both favoured a mixed "syncretism" of religions. They were both devotees of the magician Apollonius of Tyana, who was a contemporary of the apostles. At the wish of Julia, a life of Apollonius was written by a Greek sophist named Philostratus. The book was intended to revive the ideal of life which had been taught by the Pythagoreans, and extolled the Indian Brahmins as the representatives of the highest possible wisdom. It inculcated purity of life, and introduced a kind of Monotheism by specially upholding the worship of the sun. It was a Neo-Pythagorean gospel. It is important to observe that by attaching certain religious changes and reforms to one noted personality, Philostratus made Apollonius of Tyana into a pagan counterpart of Christ. This appears to have been

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 41.

done deliberately, and done in the spirit which has led to the exaltation of Krishna in modern India since the growth of Christianity.

In 217 Caracalla was murdered while on a pilgrimage to the temple of the Moon at Carrhae.

The growth of this religious syncretism was illustrated by Heliogabalus (A.D. 218–222), an emperor who had, as a boy, been consecrated as a priest of the sun-god of Emesa. He endeavoured to make his own religion, a motley form of sun-worship, the universal religion into which the various gods of the Roman Empire would be dissolved. The black-stone which represented the sun was brought from Emesa to Rome and carried in procession in a chariot, drawn by six milk-white horses, along a road strewn with gold-dust. The emperor held the horses' reins and offered the richest wines and rarest victims to his idol. A great festival was celebrated throughout the empire to celebrate the marriage of the Syrian sun-god to Astarte, the Carthaginian goddess of the heavens, whose image, like the most sacred symbols of the faith of ancient Rome, was carried to the new temple of the Sun on the Palatine Mount. The emperor was a fit apostle of such folly, and recklessly indulged in every vice and every luxury which outraged decency and nature. He did not molest the Christians.

Heliogabalus or Elagabalus.

Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235) and his mother, Julia Mammaea, manifested a better type of religious syncretism. The latter, whose manly ambition and sterling love of merit were seldom clouded except by her feminine jealousy, invited Origen to see her at Antioch, and it was to her that S. Hippolytus dedicated his treatise on the resur-

Alexander Severus.

rection. The emperor himself was an amiable man with a strong sense of duty. His life was simple, and he consecrated the beginning of every day to prayer in his private chapel, which was adorned with the images of Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ. His court was full of Christians, and his treatment of the Christians was just and tolerant. On the occasion of a dispute between the Christians and the corporation of victuallers, he decided in favour of the former, and allowed the Christians to exist, "Christianos esse passus est."[1] This amounted to an official recognition of the Church. For the point in dispute between the Christians and this corporation was the right to possess a piece of ground on which the Christians wished to build. The Christians were therefore recognised as a lawfully constituted corporation, and even as a *religious* corporation. This is implied in the emperor's decision, which was that "it is better that God should be worshipped in any way in that place, than that it should be given to the victuallers."[2] For a moment it seemed as if the strife between Church and State was ended, although the legal position of the Church was not materially altered. During the second and third centuries the Christians possibly took advantage of the laws which permitted the existence of friendly societies of the poor. These *collegia tenuiorum* had their burial-grounds, their meeting-places, their funds, their officers, and sometimes their rich patrons. The analogies between the organisation of the Church and that of these societies are so important that they have led to the conclusion that the Christians formed similar societies, and gave notice to the authorities of the

[1] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 22. [2] *loc. cit.* 49.

names of their "presidents" or bishops. This theory would account for the fact that early in the third century the Roman Church possessed a public cemetery,[1] and that in 272 the emperor recognised the existence of Church property at Antioch.

Maximinus the Thracian.

Maximinus the Thracian (A.D. 235–238), who succeeded to the throne after the murder of Alexander Severus, took a very different course. He was a sheer barbarian, ignorant, brutal, but capable. He specially aimed at removing or destroying the most prominent ecclesiastics so that the Christian propaganda might be effectively checked. It is probable that the bishops had their names inscribed in the State registers as the administrators of corporations, and that this enabled the officials to pounce on them promptly when ordered to do so. In Rome the bishop Pontianus and Hippolytus, the celebrated teacher, were both captured and sent into exile in Sardinia. Pontianus died in exile, a victim of the cruel hardships which he had been compelled to endure. Hippolytus probably died in exile also. Although the persecution was mostly directed against the heads of the Church, it sometimes fell upon all ranks of Christians alike—it was particularly cruel in Cappadocia and Pontus, when the populace had been exasperated by earthquakes, which they regarded as a token of the wrath of the gods against the Christians. The proconsul Serenianus acted as a "bitter and terrible persecutor," and Origen, who was in Cappadocia for two years, tells us that many churches were burnt.

Under the brief rule of the refined Gordian emperors the Church recovered her tranquillity. Then came

[1] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12.

Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244-249), the son of an Arab sheikh, who was almost if not quite a Christian. At Antioch he performed a penance imposed on him by the bishop, Babylas. In his public life he seems to have given no definite proof that he was a Christian, and he took part in the pagan rites which celebrated the millennium of the foundation of Rome. But rumour before long asserted that he was a Christian,[1] and Dionysius of Alexandria regarded Philip, like Alexander Severus, as "openly Christian." At least Philip treated the Christians with signal favour. He allowed Fabian, bishop of Rome, to bring back with great solemnity the relics of Pontianus from Sardinia. He and his wife, Severa, received letters from Origen. And it is probable that it was during this reign that Origen wrote his famous reply to Celsus, in which he speaks of the rapidly extending frontiers of Christianity, and says that the magistrates have ceased to make war against it. A very interesting sidelight is thrown upon this time of peace by S. Cyprian, who says that "very many bishops" despised their sacred office, and became "procurators of the rulers of this world."[2] There had originally been a strong line of separation between the officers of the State and the officials of the imperial court. The latter class was mainly composed of the freed men of the emperor, called Caesarians, and not persons of knightly or senatorial rank. But during the third century not only did the officials of the court assume a greater importance, but they were sometimes ennobled and became State officials. Thus a Christian who enjoyed the favour

Philip the Arabian.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 34, cf. vii. 10. [2] *de Lapsis*, 6.

of the emperor, even if he were a slave by origin, might become a man of considerable influence. Thus we find that Prosenes, an imperial chamberlain, who died in 217, was a Christian, and the bishops mentioned by S. Cyprian seem to have been men of authority. When Valerian came to the throne in A.D. 253 he permitted the court to be "full of God-fearing men," as we learn from Dionysius of Alexandria. And when he resolved to persecute the Christians, his second rescript, A.D. 258, especially singled out the "Caesarians" for the confiscation of their property.

CHAPTER IX

THREE TYPICAL THEOLOGIANS

AN interesting and effective illustration of the different types of intellect to which Christianity appealed between the years 180 and 230 is afforded to us by the three great names of S. Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. The first was a native of Asia Minor, who was brought up a Christian and became a bishop in Gaul; the second was a lawyer and a convert, who was the very embodiment of Roman Africa; and the third was an Athenian trained in Greek philosophy, who became a Christian priest and teacher in Egypt.

S. Irenaeus was a living link between a period of Church history which is comparatively well known to us and that earlier time which lies in twilight. He was probably born about 130, and in his younger days he knew S. Polycarp and listened to his recollections of S. John. He declares that he remembers the incidents of those younger days better than events of recent occurrence, and says: "I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings-out and his comings-in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe

S. Irenaeus.

his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words" (Eus. *H. E.* v. 20). There can be no reasonable doubt that this passage is a testimony of the strongest kind to the genuineness of S. John's Gospel. For Irenaeus believed that Gospel to be by S. John, and valued it exceedingly. And it is almost incredible that if the Gospel were not by S. John, Irenaeus would not have learnt from Polycarp that it was a forgery. There is some ground for thinking that he went to Rome with Polycarp. But there is no doubt that after he became a presbyter at Lugdunum, now Lyons, he carried to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, an important letter on the Montanist question (see p. 64). At this time, A.D. 177, the Church of Lyons was suffering all the horrors of persecution, and among the martyrs was the aged bishop Pothinus. On his return from Rome, Irenaeus was elected as bishop of Lyons. He seems to have acted with careful moderation towards those of his flock who were inclined towards Montanism, and thus killed heresy by kindness. And with regard to the Christians who had denied the faith under persecution, he seems to have allowed great weight to the prayers which the martyrs offered to God for the pardon of these offenders. It is probable, though not certain, that he dispensed the penitent from the process of public confession and discipline which Tertullian describes. Irenaeus worked indefatigably in his see. And in order to teach his rustic neighbours, he diligently learnt the Celtic language, a labour of no small difficulty. In spite of his great respect for the see of Rome, he severely criticised Victor, bishop of Rome, for his attempt to

exclude from Catholic communion the Asiatic Churches who observed Easter according to their primitive traditions (p. 130). S. Gregory of Tours places his death in 202.

He is best known to us through his great work *Against Heresies*, the third book of which was written while Eleutherus was bishop of Rome, and therefore before 189. Parts of this work are probably earlier. The Greek original is mostly lost, but we have an ancient Latin translation. A few fragments of Irenaeus' writings are found in Syriac and Armenian. Besides his work *Against Heresies*, he wrote two treatises against Gnosticism, *On the Monarchia* and *On the Ogdoad*, also a *Discourse to Marcianus* and a *Discourse to the Greeks concerning knowledge*. The chief importance of his theology lies in his criticism of Gnosticism. He upholds the teaching of the creed used by orthodox Christians, he insists on the value of the apostolical succession of the Catholic bishops as a guarantee of the truth of their doctrine, and he appeals to the fourfold Gospel and other parts of the Bible. His own theology is profoundly Christian. It is in a line with that of S. Ignatius and S. John, and is also strongly influenced by S. Paul. The Gnostics took as the chief point of departure in their theology the supposed necessary opposition between spirit and matter, which they regarded as good and evil respectively. Irenaeus starts from the true kinship between God and the world which He created. They conceived of redemption as a liberation of spirit from the bonds of nature and a restoration to its original sphere. He taught that it is the sanctification of nature and the exaltation

Writings of S. Irenaeus.

of man to a new degree of union with God. It is his strong grasp of the unity of God's purpose and God's revelation of himself, manifested by the Incarnation as the fitting sequence of the creation, that is most characteristic of Irenaeus. He is a Greek who "would see Jesus" as the centre of all history, and as the divine Person who first attained the destiny set before the human race. "On account of His infinite love He became what we are, in order that He might make us what He himself is."

We may quote the following passage as a specimen of the writing of S. Irenaeus: "For perhaps for this very purpose the Lord brought it to pass, that many circumstances of the Gospel, which all must of necessity make use of, are set forth by Luke: that all, following his subsequent testimony which he gives concerning the acts and doctrine of the apostles, and keeping the rule of the truth unadulterated, may be saved. Wherefore his testimony is true, and the doctrine of the apostles is evident and firm and keeps back nothing: nor is of one character on the lips of those who teach openly and of another on the lips of those who teach secretly. For this is the contrivance of pretenders and evil seducers, and hypocrites; after the practice of the Valentinians. For these men introduce modes of speech to catch the vulgar, aiming at those who belong to the Church, whom they themselves call 'ordinary Churchmen.' By this means they captivate the more simple folk, and by affecting our way of discussion, allure them to hear them more frequently. They also complain of us, that though their sentiments agree with ours, we unnecessarily abstain from com-

municating with them, and call them heretics, while their language and their doctrine is the same as ours. And when by their disputations they have overthrown people's faith and converted them into passive disciples, they take them apart and declare to them the unspeakable mystery of their 'Pleroma.'"[1]

Tertullian.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born about 160 at Carthage. S. Jerome says that he was the son of a heathen centurion in the service of the Roman proconsul. He was well educated both in Latin and in Greek, and his works unmistakably show the influence of Stoic philosophy. Eusebius[2] says that he was trained for the legal profession. Some have even identified him with a Roman lawyer bearing the same name, and in recent times there has been a tendency to exaggerate the legal and "juristic" element in his theology. He visited Rome and then returned to Carthage, where he probably practised as a rhetorician. He was converted about 195, married a Christian wife, was ordained priest, and almost immediately came to the front as a singularly vigorous opponent of paganism, and an upholder of a high and severe standard of Christian morality.

Writings of Tertullian.

Of few writers can we say so truly that "the style is the man." The works of Tertullian show a blending of Punic fire and fancy with a Roman appreciation of solidity and stability. His prose style has aroused a growing attention among students of the Latin language. No previous writer of prose had raised Latin to the same level of sustained emotion or made his words so true a vehicle

[1] *adv. Haer.* iii. 15. [2] *H. E.* ii. 2.

of inward experience. He writes as a lawful and cultured child of his own age, and breaks away from both the traditions of cold correctness and the fashion of artificial prettiness. Though he was acquainted with the Greek apologists, he had very little of the Greek sense of harmony and proportion. He was a born fighter, determined to strike at everything which he considered to be an abuse. And whether he was right or wrong, he was from the beginning to the end of his career a personality. In his *To the Nations* he subjected Roman superstition to the most biting satire, and in his *Apologetic* he defended Christianity to Roman officials. In his *Witness of the Soul* he tried to win his heathen opponents by showing that the soul is Christian by nature. He wrote against Judaism, and wrote books of great value against the Valentinians, against Marcion, and against the Monarchian Praxeas. He also wrote an important work *On the Soul,* which asserts that the soul though invisible is corporeal in form, and another *On the Flesh of Christ* against the Docetic theories of the Gnostics. Connected with this is a work *On the Resurrection of the Flesh,* as a religious necessity.

Other works are of a highly practical kind, such as his treatise *On Baptism*, and that *On Penitence*, upholding the need of true repentance before baptism, and allowing that *one* absolution may be granted to those Christians who have fallen into mortal sin after baptism and then repented. In another work he opposed attendance by Christians at heathen theatrical performances, in another he discussed the attire of Christian women, and in another *On Idolatry* he tried to dissuade Christians from taking part in any trade,

such as selling incense, which could be considered as promoting the interests of idolatry.

It was his hatred of slackness and his determination to resist any compromise between the Church and the world which gave him a bias towards his tragic error. His enthusiasm was stirred by the persecutions of A.D. 202, and by the steadfast witness of martyrs such as Perpetua and Felicitas, the "Acts" of whom are attributed by some critics to Tertullian himself. This enthusiasm caused him to feel a deep sympathy with the Montanist movement. For a time he remained within the Church, though his mind was not in full harmony with her spirit. To this period of transition belong his treatise *To his Wife*, in which he urges his wife not to marry again after his death; and another treatise *On the veiling of Virgins*, in which he advises that this practice be adopted. About 207 he became a declared Montanist, and wrote a number of works in which the principles of that sect are energetically maintained. His work *On the Crown* upheld those who refused to wear the soldier's festal garland, and it was not in harmony with the toleration which the Church appears to have extended to those who adopted the profession of a soldier. He also wrote two works against flight in persecution, of which one, the *Scorpiace*, was specially directed against the scorpion stings of Gnostic laxity and doubt. He wrote two works against a second marriage, which is treated as an offence against chastity. Finally he took up a line of the most bitter antagonism towards Catholic practice in (i.) his work *On Modesty*, which denounces the bishop of Rome for granting absolution to repentant Christians

who had been guilty of mortal sin: (ii.) his work *On Fasting*, defending the Montanist practice of not breaking the fast on Wednesdays and Fridays until sunset instead of doing so at 3 p.m.; (iii.) a lost work *On Ecstasy*, defending the Montanist idea of prophecy.

Tertullian died about 220. S. Augustine says[1] that he forsook Montanism before he died. This is probably a mistake, perhaps resting on a wrong estimate of the chronological order of his writings. We can only hope that "after life's fitful fever" this great and ardent spirit found rest in the truth.

Tertullian's Theology.

Of the theology of Tertullian we can only notice that which affects the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. In respect of both these great doctrines he enriched all later Western theology by his clear and masterly use of certain theological terms. Thus he uses the now familiar terms—"the Unity in Trinity"—"one substance" in which different "persons" share. Tertullian's doctrine of the Trinity is nevertheless hampered by his legacy from Stoicism and Neo-Platonism. Consequently he sometimes speaks of the Son and the Spirit as though they were only administrators acting temporarily for the Father, and though he lays stress on the truth that the Word is the Son of God, he denies that He was always the Son. Tertullian's doctrine of the Incarnation is far more satisfactory. He maintains with the greatest precision the truth that Christ is both God and Man, "the peculiar character of each substance being preserved." And while insisting that Jesus is God, he

[1] *de Haer.* 86.

is careful to repudiate any transformation of His Godhead into flesh or anything that would undermine the reality of our Lord's manhood.

The following passage illustrates Tertullian's argument against the injustice of persecuting a man simply because he is called by the name of Christian: "If a Christian is guilty of no crime, it is perfectly absurd that the mere name should be a crime. Is it not true that the man in the street shuts his eyes and hurls himself into a passion with it, so that when he bears favourable testimony to anyone else he mixes it with execrations of the name? 'A good man, Caius Seius, only he is a Christian.' Another says, 'I am astounded that such a sensible man as Lucius Titius has suddenly become a Christian.' No one reflects whether Caius is not good and Lucius sensible because they are Christians, or Christians because good and sensible. . . . Others who know people who in time past, before they bore this name, were dissolute, worthless, and wicked, condemn these people by their praise. In the blindness of their hatred they fall to commending them—'What a woman she was; wasn't she playful, wasn't she gay?'—'What a lad; wasn't he a sportsman, wasn't he a rake?'—'They have become Christians.' So that name is a description of their reformation. Some people even barter their own interests in order to exercise this hatred. They are content to suffer injury so long as they do not keep at home an object of this hatred. A husband who has now no reason to be jealous has turned out of doors a wife who now is chaste. A father who used to be patient has disowned a son who now obeys him. A master who used to be lenient has banished from his sight his now faithful

servant. To be reformed by this name is to commit an offence. Virtue is less esteemed than hatred of the Christians."[1]

Clement of Alexandria.

Titius Flavius Clemens, ordinarily known by the title of Clement of Alexandria to distinguish him from his predecessor S. Clement of Rome, was one of the great pioneers of Greek theology. We have already noticed how popular Christianity became at Alexandria at a very early period. Alexandria was the great meeting-place and mart of the world. It was the place where the Greek spirit and the Hebrew spirit were first blended, and where this blend was presented to the world in a literary form by the Jew Philo, an older contemporary of the apostles. The foundation of Christianity in this city was ascribed to S. Mark. And this tradition has gained some support from the fact that we can trace certain interesting lines of connection between early Christianity at Alexandria and at Rome, where S. Mark certainly stayed. In A.D. 134 Hadrian noticed that Christianity had found favour in Alexandria, and Basilides and Valentinus, the great Gnostic teachers, made a home there. The atmosphere of the place was in every way favourable to the growth of an eclectic philosophy, and Neo-Platonism, the philosophy of the new pagan renaissance, had a prophet there in the person of Ammonius Saccas.

Following the example of the heathens, Jews, and Gnostics, the Christians wisely determined to utilise and promote the learning of the age by founding a "school of oral instruction."[2] Lectures were given to which pagan hearers were admitted, and instruction

[1] *Apol.* 3. [2] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 3, 26; v. 10.

of a more specifically Christian character was imparted to Christians separately. Men of vigour and learning were appointed to preside over the school, and were permitted to employ assistant teachers. The date when this school was founded is uncertain. One very early director of it was Pantaenus, whom Clement calls "the Sicilian bee sucking the flowers from the meadow of the prophets and apostles." He was a converted Stoic philosopher, and apparently became a Christian presbyter. He went on a missionary journey to Arabia, and died about A.D. 200.

Clement was born about 150. After receiving a philosophic education in Greece, Italy, and the East, he came to Egypt and found full satisfaction in the teaching of Pantaenus. He became first his pupil, then his assistant, and finally his successor about 200. During the persecution under Septimius Severus he was obliged to leave Alexandria in 202. A few years later he stayed with bishop Alexander (afterwards bishop of Jerusalem) in Cappadocia. He never returned to Alexandria, and died before 216.

Clement's Theology.

The sources of the theology of Clement are the Old and the New Testament, Philo, and the Platonic and Stoic philosophers. In the midst of Gnostics who despised faith, and believers who looked askance on knowledge, Clement sought to reconcile faith and knowledge and to show their inward connection. His attitude towards philosophy was eclectic and critical, and he wished to retain the best results of Greek speculation without compromising Christianity.

It was his noble desire to confirm Christians and to attract converts by showing that Christian teaching is

itself "a wisdom among them that are perfect," as S. Paul had declared it to be. There is such a thing as an independent Christian philosophy. And yet it is not independent in the sense of being isolated. It has a vital relationship with all that is true, and is the crown and the illumination of all knowledge. Clement, like Justin, had a fellow-feeling with the heathen, and a sympathy with Greek poetry and Greek philosophy. He saw that the good elements in them are stages in the self-revelation of that Word of God which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." So he says that philosophy was a kind of covenant between God and the Greeks, and that Christians who are afraid of it are "like children who are afraid of hobgoblins." Christianity is the doctrine of the creation, education, and perfection of mankind by the divine Word, the eternal Son of God. The same Word is both the Teacher of the mind and the Tutor of the will. Consequently we must ever keep our theoretical philosophy in the closest connection with practice. The ideal of the wise and the ideal of the pious is one and the same.[1] And so in the lives of those who are capable of attaining to it, faith passes into a "faith of knowledge." All this Clement taught with a poetic enthusiasm and with a purity of character which caused a bishop who knew him to speak of him as "the holy Clement."[2] He regarded instruction in Christian truth as an initiation into sacred mysteries, and his language is that of a dignified yet humble hierophant. It is true that his language is sometimes so Greek in tone that it betrays an exaggerated eagerness to make Christianity acceptable to the men of his

[1] *Strom.* vi. 1, 1. [2] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14.

age. And Clement is so far in harmony with Gnostic ideas that he thinks that our Lord could not experience the sensations of bodily pleasure and pain. Yet we can boldly say that he loved what is good, beautiful, and true, and that he pointed men to that Saviour, "Who," as he says, "wishes us to be saved from ourselves."

An interesting literary problem is connected with his remaining books. The most important are the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, the *Tutor*, and the *Miscellanies*.[1] It has usually been held that these three books form a trilogy, but there is some reason for thinking that the *Miscellanies* was only intended to be a stepping-stone between the *Tutor* and another book called the *Teacher*, which was never written. If this was so, Clement intended to provide his readers with a complete series of instructions, passing from a comparison between Greek philosophy and Christian revelation to a consideration of the moral behaviour of Christians tutored by Christ, and, finally, to an exposition of Christian doctrine in a Greek philosophic form. Clement also wrote certain *Outlines*[2] containing comments on the Bible. Only fragments of this work remain. We still possess a practical treatise called *Who is the rich man who shall be saved*, showing that not riches as such but the enslavement of the soul to riches is fatal to salvation.

As a specimen of Clement's writing we may quote the following words from his *Exhortation to the Greeks* (chap. xii.):—

"Pass by Pleasure, she beguiles:

'Let not a woman with a flowing train cheat you of your senses,
Seeking your heart with prattling flattery.'

[1] Στρωματεῖς. [2] Ὑποτυπώσεις.

Sail past the song: it works death. Only exert your will, and you have overcome ruin. Bound to the wood of the cross you shall be freed from destruction. The Word of God will be thy Pilot, and the Holy Spirit will waft thee to anchor in the harbour of heaven. Then shalt thou see my God, and be initiated into the sacred mysteries, and come to the fruition of those things which are laid up in heaven reserved for me, which 'ear hath not heard, nor have they entered into the heart of any.'

> 'And in sooth methinks I see two suns,
> And a double Thebes'[1]

were the words of one frenzy-stricken in the worship of idols, intoxicated with mere ignorance. I would pity him in his frantic intoxication, and thus frantic I would invite him to the sobriety of salvation. For the Lord welcomes the repentance of a sinner and not his death. Come, madman, not leaning on the thyrsus, nor adorned with ivy. Throw away the cap, throw away the fawn-skin. Come to thy senses. I will show thee the Word, and the mysteries of the Word, ex pounding them after thine own fashion. This is the mountain beloved of God, not the theme of tragedies like Mount Cithaeron, but consecrated to dramas of the truth. . . . The virgins strike the lyre, the angels praise, the prophets speak. The sound of music issues forth. They run and pursue the jubilant band; those that are called are hastening, eagerly desiring to receive the Father."

[1] From Euripides, *Bacchae*, 916.

CHAPTER X

ROME AND CONTROVERSY

DURING the latter years of the second century and the first years of the third century the Roman Church was engaged in some important controversies with regard to both the faith and the practice of the Church. The first controversy with regard to ecclesiastical practice is typical in more ways than one. In the first place it shows how the Roman Church, even before it had become completely Latin, was developing that desire for outward religious uniformity which marks it at the present day. In the second place this controversy has been employed by sceptical modern writers as an argument against the genuineness of S. John's Gospel, and after being employed with excessive confidence has helped the cause which it was intended to injure. The facts are as follows:—

The Paschal Controversy.

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome about A.D. 154 in the time of bishop Anicetus, and declined to give up the manner of keeping the "Passover" or "Pascha," which, he said, he had derived from S. John. The two bishops remained on the most friendly terms in spite of their difference. Polycarp kept the festival on the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall. The Roman

Church always kept it on a Sunday. And as they did not begin to keep the festival at the same time, they also differed about the time of beginning the fast which preceded the festival. Nine years later a controversy about the Christian method of observing the Passover arose in Asia Minor. Laodicea was the centre of the dispute. How it began is not certain. But it seems most probable that certain Laodiceans made a point of eating a lamb on the 14th day of the month, and also defended themselves by saying that our Lord ate the Passover on the 14th. Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote a book on the question. Clement of Alexandria and Apollinaris of Hierapolis also wrote about the Passover. Clement maintains that our Lord died on the 14th day (thereby implying that He must have eaten the Passover on the evening before), and Apollinaris holds that our Lord died on the 14th day, and condemns the people who, "owing to ignorance," say that the Lord on the 14th day "ate the sheep with the disciples." Some years later S. Hippolytus of Rome, like Clement of Alexandria, denied that our Lord ate the ordinary Jewish Passover. This argument is all the more remarkable inasmuch as both the Churches of Alexandria and Rome followed what is called the "Dominical" use as opposed to the "Quartodeciman" use, that is to say, they kept the Paschal festival on a Sunday, and not always on the 14th of Nisan like the Christians of Asia Minor.

Polycrates and Victor.

About 191 a fresh controversy broke out between Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus. It was simply a continuation of the difference between Anicetus and Polycarp in 154. At the request of Victor,

synods of bishops were held in various parts of the Christian world to consider whether the Paschal festival ought to be kept on a Sunday as at Rome. The synods included meetings of the bishops of Palestine, of Pontus, of Gaul, and of Osroene. All these were in favour of keeping the festival on a Sunday. Apparently they had never done anything else. The Palestinian bishops added that a letter had come from Alexandria, which showed that the same day was observed in Egypt. But the bishops of the province of Asia refused to alter their day. Polycrates declared that he was the eighth bishop of his family who observed the 14th day, and solemnly appealed to the continuous practice of the Church in Asia and the "great lights" who had adorned it. "Among whom," he says, "are Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who fell asleep at Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters, and his other daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit, and rests at Ephesus: and, moreover, John, who leaned upon the breast of the Lord, and who became a priest, wearing the priestly mitre, and a martyr and a teacher. He fell asleep at Ephesus. And Polycarp, too, at Smyrna, who was a bishop and martyr."[1] Polycrates concludes by saying that he is not affrighted, and by hinting that he regards it as a duty to God to maintain the old custom.

Victor was annoyed. According to Eusebius, "he forthwith endeavours to cut off the dioceses of all Asia, together with the neighbouring Churches, as heterodox, from the common unity; and proscribes them by letters, proclaiming that all the brethren there are utterly separated from

Irenaeus and Victor.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 24.

communion. However, these measures did not please all the bishops. They exhort him, therefore, on the other side to pursue peace, and unity, and love towards his neighbours. Their writings, too, are extant, somewhat sharply upbraiding Victor. Among these also was Irenaeus . . . he becomingly admonishes Victor not to cut off whole Churches of God which preserve the tradition of an ancient custom."[1] Eusebius adds that Irenaeus wrote, "not to Victor alone, but to very many other rulers of Churches respecting the question which was agitated." The majority of the Asiatics appear to have given up their old custom before the Council of Nicaea in 325, as the Paschal controversy which was settled at Nicaea was distinct from the old Quartodeciman controversy of the second century. But Victor's effort was evidently a complete failure at the time when it was made. He endeavoured to cut off the Church of Asia from the rest of the Catholic Church, and apparently failed to do more than cut them off from the local Church of Rome. Other Catholic bishops thought that they were quite free to criticise sharply the formal decision of the bishop of Rome, and it is worthy of remark that S. Jerome, who enjoys a unique importance in the Roman Church, does not in his *Life of Polycrates* regard Polycrates as guilty of any schism in refusing to conform to the decision of Victor.

S. John's Gospel Genuine.

We can only very briefly allude to the sceptical argument which endeavours to utilise this controversy as a means of disproving the genuineness of S. John's Gospel. The heart of the argument is that whereas this Gospel represents

[1] Eus. *loc. cit.*

our Lord's *death* as taking place on the 14th, the Churches in the province of Asia which were specially connected with S. John kept their *Passover* on the 14th, and therefore believed that our Lord's death took place on the 15th. Consequently this Gospel is not by S. John, but by a forger, who wished to emphasise the break between Christianity and Judaism by saying that Christ ate the Last Supper on a different day from the Jews. This sceptical argument is based on a fundamental ignorance of early Christian liturgical customs. It falsely assumes that the primary object of the Christians of Asia was to commemorate the Last Supper. For, as a matter of fact, their primary object was to commemorate His "most holy Passion." When they kept their Passover, they kept the anniversary of an event which, according to S. John's Gospel, took place on Nisan 14th, and not the anniversary of an event which, according to that Gospel, took place the evening before. The Churches founded by S. John were therefore in exact accordance with the Gospel attributed to S. John. Both assumed that our Lord died on the 14th, and ate the Last Supper on the previous evening. The Paschal controversy is therefore one of the best proofs of the genuineness of this Gospel. We can further add that if the controversy had been specially concerned with a commemoration of the Last Supper, the dispute would have turned entirely on the day of the *month* on which the commemoration should take place. But the dispute began by the Roman Church insisting, not on a particular day of the month, but on a particular day of the *week*, viz. Sunday, though everyone knew that the Last Supper was not celebrated on a Sunday. The

Christians of Asia wished to observe the 14th in commemoration of our Lord's death, the Christians of Rome wished to observe a Sunday at the same season in commemoration of His death and His resurrection combined.

Almost contemporary with this dispute about the Church's sacred seasons, there began a dispute about the faith, in which the Roman Church appears in a still less favourable light.

The Unitarian Controversy.

During the first two centuries of the Church's life there were no less than four conceptions of the Person of Christ which appeared possible to those who were interested in the Christian faith. The four may be briefly described as follows:—

1. Jesus Christ is God and Man. He is the "Word made flesh," who is from all eternity the Son of God, but did take upon Him a perfectly true and complete human nature. This Christian conception had lately, as we have seen above (p. 116), been ably defended by S. Irenaeus.

2. Jesus Christ is a heavenly spiritual being, not really God, but a spirit emanating from Him, and He took the appearance of a human nature, a phantom flesh. This was the Gnostic view, and it was still common in A.D. 200, though Gnosticism had already seen its best days.

3. There was the partially Jewish conception that Jesus Christ was only a human Messiah who was anointed at His baptism by the Holy Spirit so as to become an adopted Son of God, and that at the resurrection He became semi-divine. This view is sometimes erroneously supposed to be that of the first three

Gospels, and it is known in modern theology as *Adoptionism.*

4. There was the conception that Jesus Christ was the Father in a visible form, He was only a mode of the Father's existence. This view is known in modern theology as *Modalism.*

These two latter views have points of contact with modern Unitarianism and are both included in the name of Monarchianism.[1] The word *Monarchia* had been used by S. Irenaeus to signify the sovereign unity of the Godhead, and it was meant to repudiate the Gnostic theory of numerous divine emanations. But before long it became a favourite catchword with the people who thought that if we call Jesus "God," we admit that there are two gods, and Tertullian laughs at the ignorant inhabitants of the Roman Campagna who said "We hold to the Monarchia," a word which they could neither understand nor pronounce. The phrase, like the phrase "We are Unitarian Christians," gently insinuated that historical Christianity was false, not to say idolatrous. It is evident that the two schools of Monarchians started from opposite points. The Adoptionists started from the belief that Jesus Christ is essentially man, and the Modalists started from the belief that He is essentially God. Both repudiated belief in a real Trinity in Unity. The Adoptionists did not realise that though the word "Trinity" does not occur in Holy Scripture, the word is only an expression for a fundamental Christian fact, and that there are certain elements in

[1] Adoptionism is also sometimes called *Dynamic Monarchianism*, because it resolved the Divinity of our Lord into a mere power (*δύναμις*) bestowed upon Him by the Father.

Christian experience which, when interpreted in philosophic language, must necessarily result in the doctrines of the "Word" and the Trinity. The Modalists accepted the word "Trinity," but endeavoured to explain it away by maintaining that though God has shown Himself to us in three different forms, those of Father, Son, and Spirit, this threefold revelation is not a manifestation of His own inner life, but only a revelation of His manner of redeeming us. Both the Adoptionists and the Modalists, by their denial that the Son is Son from eternity, indirectly denied that there has always been a perfect Fatherhood in God.

It was the task of the Church to show that the Divinity of the Son, both before and after He became incarnate, is compatible with the Unity of God. And we must consider the failures and the successes of certain representatives of the Church in dealing with this great subject.

The Alogi.

In reaction against the Montanists, who felt an earnest though ignorant interest in the Gospel of S. John, there arose in Asia Minor a body known as the "Alogi" who attributed that Gospel to the heretic Cerinthus and denied that our Lord is the Word ("Logos") incarnate. A certain Theodotus, a tanner, probably influenced by the Alogi, taught in Byzantium and then came to Rome about 190. It was a common ambition of Christian teachers, orthodox or heterodox, to come to Rome. We know the names of no less than twenty-four prominent persons, some Catholic, some Gnostic, and some Monarchian, who came to Rome between A.D. 150 and A.D. 250. Theodotus was very soon excommunicated

Unitarianism in Rome.

by Victor, bishop of Rome, for teaching that our Lord was a "mere man," though born of a virgin, and gradually exalted by the power given to Him through the Holy Spirit. He found a good many followers in Rome, and under the next bishop, Zephyrinus (A.D. 198–217), his work was taken up by another Theodotus, by profession a banker. The Theodotians won to their sect a confessor named Asclepiodotus, and audaciously declared that their doctrine had been kept at Rome until the time of Victor. The falsehood of the assertion is proved by the teaching of S. Peter and S. Paul, S. Clement, and the author of the Second Epistle of Clement, and also by the fact that the Church of Rome was in close connection with the orthodox Christians of Asia Minor. There are, indeed, in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, written about 140, some expressions of an Adoptionist type, but they are more than outweighed by other statements which imply the eternal Divinity of the Son. Teaching similar to that of Theodotus was propagated by Artemon, who was still living about 270.

In the meantime the Modalist Monarchians had arrived in Rome. Praxeas came in the time of Pope Victor (A.D. 189–198). He taught that the Father and the Son were the same person, and then explained that in Jesus Christ there was (1) a man who was "the Son," and that this was Jesus; and (2) a Spirit who was "the Father," and that this was Christ. He then went to Carthage, where he was energetically opposed by Tertullian, who applied to his sect the name of "Patripassians," *i.e.* those who teach that the Father suffered. Noetus, another Asiatic, probably of

Smyrna, also came to Rome and taught the boldest form of Patripassianism, saying that "the Father Himself was born, and suffered, and died." He asked, "What harm am I doing by glorifying Christ?" Victor, who from his reasonable dislike of Adoptionism was inclined towards the opposite extreme, supported Praxeas, although, to use Tertullian's expression, "he banished the Paraclete and crucified the Father." Zephyrinus, the next bishop of Rome, supported Noetus and his disciples, Epigonus and Cleomenes.

Sabellius.

Then Sabellius, a man connected with the district of Pentapolis, in Libya, came to Rome and taught Modalism in a more thoughtful form. He advanced beyond Noetus by giving a definite place to the Holy Spirit. And by teaching that the Father, Son, and Spirit are three distinct *activities* he came nearer to Catholic doctrine than Noetus. He was nevertheless strictly Modalist. He called God *Huiopatôr*, Son-Father, and held that as Father, God is Creator; as Son, He is Redeemer; as Spirit, He is the giver of holiness. God, in fact, "metamorphosed himself." Callistus, who became bishop of Rome in 217, excommunicated Sabellius. But his own teaching was substantially the same as that of Praxeas, and it was apparently taught with the express purpose of being an official explanation of the truth. He declined to say, without qualification, that the Father suffered; but he affirmed that in Jesus Christ what was visible and was human was the Son, but that the Spirit in the Son was the Father. His teaching is clearly exposed in the ninth book of the *Philosophoumena* of S. Hippolytus.

S. Hippolytus is in some ways one of the men of

this period who are best known to us, and in other ways his story is involved in almost hopeless confusion. Eusebius calls him a *bishop* without mentioning his see, and Apollinarius of Laodicea calls him "the most holy bishop of Rome." In the fourth century he was regarded at Rome as a *presbyter* and a martyr, and the Roman Church commemorates him on August 13th, on which day his remains were buried on the Via Tiburtina. In 1551 a fine marble statue of Hippolytus was discovered, and it is now in the Lateran Christian Museum. The figure is clad as a philosopher, and on the chair in which he is seated there is a list, in Greek, of his writings, and part of the cycle for calculating Easter which he invented. His exegetical works embraced all, or nearly all, the Bible. The only book on the Bible which now remains is that on Daniel. Hippolytus also wrote against heathens, against heretics, against Marcion, a treatise to the Empress Julia Mammaea, another on the Incarnation, and another on Christ and Antichrist.

S. Hippolytus.

In 1842 there was discovered at Mount Athos a manuscript of books iv.–x. of a work known as the *Philosophoumena*, and previously attributed to Origen. Books ii. and iii. are still missing. The whole formed a *Refutation of all heresies*. It deals with different forms of pagan thought, and then gives an account of Christian heresies. Book ix. tells of dissensions at Rome, and, as we have seen, describes Pope Callistus as favouring Sabellianism. This fact, coupled with the fact that Eastern authors call Hippolytus a bishop, has given rise to the theory of some writers that Hippolytus became a rival bishop or anti-pope. Other writers,

The Philosophoumena.

especially those of the Roman communion, have held that Hippolytus could not have written the *Philosophoumena* and then attained to the rank of a saint in the Roman Church after accusing a pope of heresy. Internal evidence, however, shows that the book is the work of S. Hippolytus and connected with his other writings. He was exiled to Sardinia with Pontianus, the bishop of Rome, in 235. It appears that Pontianus then resigned his bishopric, and it is possible that Hippolytus had been a rival claimant to the see and resigned his claim at the same time, and thus was reconciled with the Roman Church. Both died in Sardinia, and their relics were brought to Rome under Pope Fabian. The story that Hippolytus returned from exile and became bishop of Portus rests on no good foundation. It apparently rose in the seventh century from the fact that Portus contained a church bearing his name.

The Disciplinary Controversy.

The episcopate of Callistus is connected with a controversy about Church discipline almost as important as the controversy about Church doctrine. In mentioning the *Shepherd* of Hermas (p. 28) we have already noticed that the author advocated the pardon of gross sins committed by Christians after their baptism on the conditions that there was a heartfelt repentance, and that the opportunity of reconciliation with the Church should be granted to the sinner *once* only. Late in the second century the view of Hermas was held at Corinth and in Africa, and it also had the approval of Clement of Alexandria. But it was not uncommon for the Church to refuse to grant absolution to Christians who had been guilty of idolatry, murder, adultery, and

kindred sins against "the temple of God." We gather from S. Irenaeus and Tertullian that even when a penitent was reconciled to the Church, he was not necessarily restored to all his Church privileges.[1] In such cases the penitent was allowed to go through a penitential discipline of prayer and fasting, and the Church prayed for him, and since the prayers of the Church were believed to imply the prayers of Christ, it was believed that the penitent would certainly obtain the forgiveness of God.

Besides these great and deadly sins, it was customary to seek "pardon from the bishop"[2] for lesser sins, such as S. Cyprian calls "small and moderate wounds." It is probable that no public penitential discipline was required in such cases. But this public discipline was not only required in the case of notoriously known and open sins. For Tertullian speaks of the voluntary confession of serious sins which the offender is tempted to conceal. The method of confession in his time was probably the same as in A.D. 250. The penitent first made his confession privately to the bishop or the clergy, and the bishop then took care that the discipline enjoined was proportionate to the sin. The name of *exhomologesis* or *confession* was given to the whole process of confession and outward punishment. It was so humiliating that many shrank from it. Tertullian graphically puts before us the picture of the penitent unwashed, fasting, clothed in sackcloth, and kneeling before the presbyters, martyrs, and brethren to beg for their prayers. Great value was attached to the intercession of any who had suffered for the faith,

[1] Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 13, 5; Tert. *de Pudicit.* xviii. 14.
[2] *de Pudicit.* xviii. 17.

so that penitents were always anxious to have their support. It is probable that when absolution was granted, it was granted as in the time of S. Cyprian with the laying on of the hands of the bishop and his clergy on the head of the penitent.

About 218 Callistus determined to break through the ordinary practice of the Roman Church by granting absolution to those Christians who had been guilty of adultery or fornication and had repented of their sin. He was opposed by both Tertullian and Hippolytus. The former had by this time adopted the Montanist heresy, and in sympathy with the usual tendency of Western Montanism to act as the champion of conservatism, he maintained that the Church should not, and could not, remit such heinous sins. In his treatise *On Penitence*, written about 204 when he was still a Catholic, Tertullian upheld a very severe moral standard, and justly urged that the repentance for sins which precedes baptism must be retained after baptism. But in spite of a natural hesitation he told catechumens that if they did sin after baptism a "second penitence" was possible.[1] Now, however, in his treatise *On Modesty*, he maintained that Christ does not pray for the adulterer, and he mocked at "the blessed pope" and alluded with scorn to the practice of feeding the "second penitence sheep" from a chalice engraved with a representation of the Good Shepherd. He attacked Callistus on two grounds: First, for restoring the adulterer and the fornicator to the communion of the Church after a temporary punishment; and, secondly, for personally claiming to

Pope Callistus and Tertullian.

[1] *de Poenitent.* viii. 9, 10.

remit sins. His criticism is not very consistent. For Tertullian never denied that the Church can remit some sins, and even when a Montanist he maintained that the bishop could minister absolution for lighter sins, such as unintentional blasphemy. And he held that the greater sins could be remitted by an apostle or by a "prophet," the Montanist prophets being supposed to have rights even above the power of the original apostles. He maintained, therefore, that Callistus was guilty of a serious innovation, but he was prepared to admit that such an innovation would have been allowable in one of the new "prophets" on whom he had pinned his faith.

From every point of view Tertullian's theory was unreasonable. And Callistus, though some points in his conduct may be open to question, not only acted in accordance with Hermas, but in accordance with S. Paul and S. John and the commission granted by our Lord to those whom He empowered to remit sin.

NOTE.—The difficulty of reconciling the Unitarian heresy here attributed to Callistus with the doctrine of the "infallible teaching office" of the pope has led to some extraordinary methods of justifying Callistus. Cardinal Franzelin in his treatise *De Deo Trino*, p. 142, simply suppresses the most compromising words. For this he is very justly criticised by Mgr. Duchesne in *Les Origines Chrétiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 285, 287. Mgr. Duchesne is able to avoid the difficulty by means of his theory that the author of the *Philosophoumena* is not S. Hippolytus, but a calumniator of the same period. On the other hand, Prof. Albert Ehrhard says that there is "no doubt that Hippolytus is the true author," *Die Altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von* 1884-1900, p. 398. But in his *Der Katholizismus und das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert*, pp. 276–7, though he makes no attempt to deny that the popes about the beginning of the third century were heretical, he maintains that the heretical statements in question were only private attempts at a scientific theology and not intended to be representative of the Church's faith.

CHAPTER XI

ORIGEN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

CLEMENT of Alexandria was far eclipsed by his renowned successor, Origen. The latter threw into the shade all earlier attempts to present Christianity as a philosophic religion. Except Clement he was the only Greek Christian before S. John of Damascus in the seventh century who taught a complete system of Christian theology. No Eastern had as great an influence upon the development of Christianity except his great compatriot, S. Athanasius. And in the West only S. Augustine moulded human minds as strongly as Origen. That so great a philosopher should have been an ardent Christian is a singular proof of the deep impression which Christianity was making upon the world at the beginning of the third century. And that his influence was as great more than one hundred years after he was laid in his grave is a singular proof that Origenism was not a fashion but a power.

Origen's Influence.

Origen was born at Alexandria of Christian parents in 185. His father, Leonides, secured a Greek and Christian education for his son, who was a pupil of both Pantaenus and Clement. In 202 his father suffered martyrdom, the property of his family was confiscated, and Origen

Origen's early life.

would have gone to share his father's fate, if his mother had not hidden his clothes. In 203, when he was not yet eighteen years old, he had shown such brilliant intellectual gifts that the bishop, Demetrius, made him head of the catechetical school of Alexandria. Soon afterwards, in a mistaken zeal and in a too literal interpretation of certain words of our Lord, he preferred to mutilate himself rather than to struggle with temptation. Except for this early indiscretion, his life was a noble embodiment of his creed, and one of his pupils, himself a saint, describes him as "a pattern of a wise man." His intercourse with cultured heathens and Gnostics caused him to devote his attention to Hebrew, to Plato, to Neo-Platonism, and Stoicism. From his school he excluded only the writings of atheists, and so numerous became his scholars that he was compelled to entrust the beginners to Heraclas, who had been taught both by himself and by the Neo-Platonist, Ammonius Saccas. His fame spread in all directions, and he improved both himself and others by his journeys to various centres of Christendom. Before 212 he visited Rome and made the acquaintance of S. Hippolytus. In 215 Alexandria again became unsafe for Christians, and Origen went to Caesarea in Palestine. This was the cause of an unfortunate difference between Origen and his own bishop, Demetrius. For Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea esteemed Origen's teaching so highly that they asked him to preach in church though he was unordained. To this Demetrius objected, and in 231 he was not unnaturally indignant when the two prelates aforesaid proceeded to remove the former objection by ordaining Origen to the priesthood. It was a dangerous precedent to ordain a man outside

the diocese to which he belonged, and to ordain one who had been guilty of mutilating himself. An Alexandrian synod then forbade Origen to teach again in Alexandria, and another synod deposed him from the priesthood. To this decision, however, the Churches of Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Achaia declined to conform.

Learning was greatly valued in Palestine. A somewhat younger contemporary of Origen, named Sextus Julius Africanus, who lived at Emmaus, had visited Alexandria and corresponded with Origen. He made use of the archives of Edessa, and wrote a celebrated *Chronography* or History of the world to A.D. 221, which was quoted by Eusebius and by the Byzantine historians.

Julius Africanus.

Once settled at Caesarea, Origen founded a school, the method of which is described to us by Gregory Thaumaturgus. After being instructed in natural science, geometry, and astronomy, Origen's pupils were taught Greek philosophy and poetry, and finally the Holy Scriptures. From Caesarea the great teacher made various missionary excursions. He had previously been in Greece, and now went to Antioch, where he visited Julia Mammaea, the mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus. He went also to Bostra in Arabia, where he converted some Christians who had adopted the Modalist heresy. He also visited Cappadocia during the persecution of Maximinus the Thracian (235–238). He afterwards wrote letters to the Emperor Philip the Arabian and his wife Severa. In the Decian persecution of 250 and 251 he was imprisoned and tortured at Tyre. His health was broken by his sufferings, and he died at Tyre in 254.

Origen's later life.

Philo and the later Greek philosophers and Clement had done much to sift and combine the ideas of previous writers. But Origen was the prince of eclectics. Fully convinced that the Greeks and the Jews had really prepared the way for Christianity, he handled Greek and Hebrew ideas in a manner which compelled other men to see them as he saw them. Moreover, his genius was incredibly productive. He employed seven shorthand writers to write what he dictated, and his works are reckoned by Epiphanius as 6,000.[1] His books embraced textual criticism of the Bible, homilies and commentaries on the Bible, and dogmatic and apologetic work. His three most famous works were the *Hexapla*, a book intended to determine the true text of the Old Testament by exhibiting the Hebrew and the Greek versions in six parallel columns; the vigorous defence of Christianity *Against Celsus*, and the dogmatic work on *First Principles*.[2] The last-mentioned book can be largely reconstructed from the Latin translations of Rufinus and Jerome and from the remaining Greek fragments. Its four books deal with the Being of God, the visible world and the work of redemption, freewill and its limitations, and the Holy Scriptures as the basis of doctrine. The last book expounds his celebrated theory about the interpretation of the Bible. This he maintains to be threefold: (1) bodily, *i.e.* historical and grammatical; (2) according to the natural or psychic understanding, *i.e.* moral; (3) spiritual, *i.e.* largely allegorical. This was in many respects an unfortunate division. For in common with most of the learned men of his age Origen had little sense of

Writings of Origen.

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* 64, 63.

[2] περὶ ἀρχῶν, *de Principiis.*

historical perspective. The "bodily" interpretation was taught to be only the food of beginners, "childish souls," while the advanced Christian was encouraged to spiritualise away any passage in the Bible which caused him to be conscious of an intellectual difficulty.

Theology of Origen.

The theology of Origen starts from God, the spiritual and true centre of all things. The very idea of God implies that He eternally unfolds His own perfections. These are chiefly manifested in His Word, the fully divine and eternal Son, begotten perpetually of the Father, as a ray is produced by light, and the human will proceeds from the human mind. He is the full image of the Father, and the summary of the Father's ideas of the universe. Thus He exists between the Father and all created life. Consequently He is subordinate to the Father, while also *consubstantial* with Him. This Word took human nature, and became the God-Man. He took a real body and real soul. He really suffered, and Origen lays stress upon the value both of Christ's example and of His expiation and His high-priestly intercession. While much is truly admirable, we cannot deny that there is a spice of truth in the criticism of the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, who said that Origen lived as a Christian, but "Hellenised in his opinions concerning the Divine."[1] Thus Origen's arguments seem to imply that the world is eternal; he thinks, too, that the Son of God could not come into direct contact with even a pure human body, but only by the medium of an eternal unfallen spirit; and that after death not only do the good pass through different stages of purification, but that the wicked and even

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 19.

the devils will be purified by the fire of hell. Thus, at the last God will be all in all, and the end will be as the beginning was.

During the second half of the third century the theology of the Church was, as we should have expected, greatly dominated by the mighty influence of Origen. In connection with the city of Alexandria and the catechetical school of which Origen had been the head, we find a row of theologians, Trypho, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, Pierius, Theognostus, and Peter. There is another series of theologians who either lived outside the city or were not specially connected with the catechetical school. Among these were Anatolius, Ammonius, Basilides, metropolitan of Pentapolis, Hesychius, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. Very little of their works now remains. We know that Pierius occupied the same position as Origen, and the fact that S. Jerome calls him "Origenes junior" seems to be a guarantee that his theology agreed with that of his great predecessor. Small fragments of his writings are extant, and he wrote also a treatise on "The Mother of God" and a life of his celebrated pupil, Pamphilus. The name Hesychius was borne by an Egyptian bishop and by a biblical critic; it is still uncertain whether they were identical. There are grounds for thinking that Hesychius had much influence on a recension of the Greek Testament, and that the celebrated manuscript known as the *Codex Vaticanus* marks the result of this recension.

Origen's Disciples.

Dionysius of Alexandria, who won the title of "the Great," was born before 200. He became a believer after earnest seeking for the truth, became head of

the catechetical school, and was consecrated bishop in 247. He was captured in the Decian persecution but set free, and again captured in the Valerian persecution, and on courageously confessing his belief, was banished. He returned to his see after the accession of Gallienus, and ministered faithfully in Alexandria, in spite of plague and war, until his death in 265. He was less a theologian than a vigorous practical administrator, with a statesmanlike understanding of the needs both of the Egyptian Church and the whole Catholic Church. We know of about fifty of his letters, several dealt with the question of Novatianism and the treatment of the lapsed, and he corresponded with Rome on the question of heretical baptism, the validity of which he denied. Eusebius has preserved some interesting fragments in which Dionysius expresses the opinion that the Revelation was written by John the Presbyter and the fourth Gospel by John the Apostle.[1] In his opposition to the heresy of Sabellius, which was still powerful in Libyan Pentapolis, Dionysius exaggerated the subordination of the Son of God to the Father which Origen himself had emphasised too strongly. He described the Son as the work of the Father, spoke of the relation between the Son and the Father as similar to that of a vine-branch in the hand of a vine-dresser, and even said that the Son did not always exist.

Dionysius of Alexandria.

On the complaint of some orthodox Churchmen to Dionysius of Rome, the Alexandrian prelate, who seems to have been orthodox at heart, explained himself satisfactorily, and withdrew the statement which

[1] *H. E.* vii. 25.

denied the eternity of God the Son.[1] His career is an excellent illustration of the fact that fine moral qualities and statesmanlike abilities should not dispense the occupant of a primatial see from the necessity of a careful study of theology.

Gregory Thaumaturgus (Wonder-worker) was a pupil of Origen during the time that Origen stayed in Caesarea (233–238). He was a young pagan lawyer from Neo-Caesarea, in Pontus, who was converted by Origen, and on the departure of Origen from Caesarea he dedicated to his teacher a panegyric which was no small proof of his powers. He was soon afterwards consecrated bishop of Neo-Caesarea. Like Cyprian, he fled during the Decian persecution, and he advised that gentle measures should be taken with the Christians of Pontus, who had lapsed during the inroads of the Goths. A short Exposition of the faith by Gregory still exists, and other writings survive in a Syriac translation. S. Basil[2] mentions a Discussion with Aelian by Gregory in which expressions were used with regard to the Holy Trinity which the Sabellians quoted in favour of their heresy. His biography was written in the next century by S. Gregory of Nyssa, and there also exists an independent Syriac biography of great antiquity. He is believed to have been the only missionary of the first three centuries who tried to wean the people from their pagan festivals by instituting in honour of the martyrs festivals which should be occasions of general rejoicing. There can be no doubt that by

Gregory Thaumaturgus.

[1] See A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, p. 173, vol. iv. of *Select Library of Nicene* and *Post-Nicene Fathers*, edited by H. Wace and Ph. Schaff. Oxford: Parker and Co., 1892.

[2] *Ep.* 210.

this concession to the people's tastes and by his preaching and his exposure of the trickery of the pagan priests, Gregory attained signal success. It is said that when he was made bishop of Neo-Caesarea there were only seventeen Christians in the city, and that when he died there were only seventeen heathens.

Pamphilus.

Pamphilus of Caesarea was a pupil of Pierius, and wrote a defence of Origen. He founded a library at Caesarea, and took an active interest in the study of the text of the Bible and in its dissemination. He was the intimate friend of the great Eusebius, the church historian. The connection of Caesarea with Antioch and Edessa must be borne in mind when we estimate the theological influence of this centre of Christianity.

Origen weakened Unitarianism.

The widespread interest which the leaders of the Church felt in the study of Origen could not fail to have a beneficial effect in certain important directions. There was a possible danger that the love of speculation which Origen had encouraged would tend to value a philosophic knowledge of God rather than faith in God, and also that study of the historical life of our Lord on earth should be neglected amid discussions about His eternal divine nature. But such tendencies were largely checked by a vigorous interest in biblical studies; and, on the other hand, the teaching of Origen undoubtedly helped men to clear their minds of those confused views concerning the Person of our Lord which we have already described under the name of Monarchianism. Both types of Monarchianism, the "modalist" and the "dynamic," received a serious blow from Origen. His statement of the truth that the

Word of God is eternally the Son of God, ever being begotten by the Father and issuing from the Father's own spiritual life, made clear two facts. The first is that the Son is as divine as the Father, and that in Jesus Christ we behold far more than a mere *influence* of the Father; and the second is that the Son is as personal as the Father, and that in Jesus Christ we do *not* behold *a fictitious Son*, who is really the Father in the mask of human flesh. The latter theory still lingered in the East, but the former theory actively revived in the teaching of Paul of Samosata.

Paul of Samosata.

Paul of Samosata became bishop of Antioch about 260. He was not only bishop of a great city in which Judaism was long afterwards a menace to Christianity, but he was also viceroy of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, in whose dominions Antioch was situated, and who was herself attached to the Jewish religion. Some complaints were made against him that he was teaching what Artemon had taught, and it became quite clear that he was more a Jew than a Christian. He held that the Word of God was only an impersonal power of God just as the reason of man is by itself impersonal. This Word dwelt, or rather acted, in the prophets, especially Moses. In Jesus, this Word dwelt in a peculiar degree, *not essentially, but as a quality.* That is, Jesus was only a prophet more inspired than other prophets. At His baptism He was assisted by the Holy Ghost, and His nature became still more divine after His resurrection. Thus He became divine *progressively*, His progress being the reward of His obedience to God. He might be called "God," but this was only a metaphorical expression, for He is only

an exalted human Saviour "connected with God." Paul consistently tried to put down the use of chants which implied the real divinity of Christ.[1]

This was the last attempt to find a home for undisguised Unitarianism in the Greek Church. Paul's fellow-bishops regarded his doctrine with horror, but they acted with no precipitation. They held three synods at Antioch to consider the case between 264 and 268. At the last he was excommunicated, and the decisions of the synod were despatched to foreign Churches. It is known that this synod rejected the word consubstantial (*homo-ousios*), as applied to the Son in His relation to the Father's essence. The exact reason for its rejection is not known; but it is most probable that Paul accused his opponents of Sabellianism, and said that this word, which had also been employed by Origen, was used by them to signify that the Son was the same Person as the Father. If this was really said by Paul, we can understand that his opponents were ready to drop the word provided they retained the sense which Origen had attached to it. Paul managed to retain his position at Antioch until the downfall of Zenobia and the capture of the city by Aurelian in 272. It is uncertain where he ended his days. But it is most probable that he propagated his opinions among the Syrians. The *Acts of the dispute of Archelaus and Manes*, a document of the early part of the fourth century, teaches an Adoptionist view of Christ, and the sect of Pauliani was well known in that century. The great sect of the Paulicians, which in the eighth century and afterwards was very powerful in north-eastern

The Paulicians.

[1] For Paul of Samosata see Eus. *H. E.* v. 28; vii. 30.

Syria and Armenia, and spread over part of Europe in the Middle Ages, probably took its name from Paul of Samosata. The sect lingered in Thrace as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, and in Armenia during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Armenian Paulicians were certainly Adoptionists, and the name is only an Armenian form of the word Pauliani.

If the influence of "the Samosatene" was most permanent in the remote East, it was by no means transient at Antioch. A pupil of Paul, a presbyter named Lucian, popularised the doctrine of Paul after modifying it to a considerable degree. Lucian taught that the Word which dwelt in Jesus was a semi-divine and non-eternal creature, and not an impersonal influence of the Father. In fact, the Word was represented as a demigod capable of feeling the wants experienced by God's creatures. Lucian was a man of learning, and his recension of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was used from Constantinople to Antioch. The second Arianising creed put forth by the Council of Antioch in 341 has usually been attributed to Lucian. In any case his extraordinary doctrine prepared the way for Arianism, and among the members of his school were Eusebius of Nicomedia and Arius himself. Lucian was excommunicated,[1] but returned to the Church and died a martyr in 312.

Lucian of Antioch.

In the meantime the theologians who had fallen under the spell of Origen were realising that he was not infallible. Thus Peter, bishop of Alexandria, while following Origen in many directions, repudiated

[1] So Alexander of Alexandria in Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 3.

Origen's doctrine that human souls existed and fell before the creation, and repudiated his views about the resurrection. More eminent as a theologian than Peter, and like Peter a martyr for the faith, was Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia. Parts of his numerous works survive in Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and in the Old Slavonic, the language of the Russian liturgy. His theology combines that of Origen with that of Irenaeus and Asia Minor. He admired the mysticism, the asceticism, and the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures in vogue at Alexandria. But he was entirely opposed to Origen's fancies about the eternity of the world, the pre-existence of souls, and the non-corporeal nature of our resurrection. He also put much stress upon the redemptive work of Christ as fulfilling the purpose of creation. He wrote against the heathen Porphyry, and against the Gnostics he maintained the freedom of the human will. Like S. Augustine and S. Bernard in later times, he taught the blessing of a mystical union between the human soul and Christ, a hidden life in which Christ himself is born, and suffers, and rises again. This union comes through baptism and the teaching of the Church, which is the bride of Christ and the mother of souls, and it is made effectual by faith and works. Virginity is highly praised as a way to Paradise.

Methodius.

Methodius made a real and in many ways successful attempt to steady theology by an appeal to sound Christian traditions, and we can only regret that so little now remains of his picturesque and enterprising books.

We must finally mention that Methodius favoured

the old doctrine of Chiliasm. This is the doctrine which teaches the earthly reign of the Messiah for a thousand years, amid the greatest splendour and glory for Himself and for His people. Though the doctrine was mainly based on the Revelation of S. John, it soon assumed the most fantastic and exaggerated forms. Irenaeus has preserved a traditional saying of our Lord given by Papias about the amazing fruitfulness of the earth during the millennium.[1] After the time of Papias Chiliasm became a favourite doctrine with many Christians who were cruelly oppressed and longed for the visible return of Christ. Justin Martyr treats it as orthodox, and it is supported by S. Irenaeus and Tertullian. The Montanists elevated it to a fundamental article of the Christian faith. The stress which they laid upon millenarianism probably did much to make the theory unpopular. It was not only denied by the Alogi and Praxeas, but also by Caius of Rome and Origen. But in Egypt it was still maintained by the learned bishop Nepos of Arsinoe, whose followers, after separating from the Church, were in a great measure won back by the tact of Dionysius. After the death of Methodius Chiliasm died out in the East, though it was advocated in the West by Lactantius. Its day was, however, passed and gone. The prosperity of the Church under Constantine extinguished those hopes of a millennium which persecution had fanned into a flame. S. Augustine finally destroyed Chiliasm by teaching that the reign of a thousand years signified the dominion of the Church after the overthrow of Roman paganism.

Chiliasm.

[1] *adv. Haer.* v. 33.

CHAPTER XII

DECIUS, VALERIAN, AND S. CYPRIAN

A TIME of comparative peace and development (A.D. 211–250) was followed by a violent persecution which equally affected the external and the internal life of the Church. Hitherto there had been no thorough and universal persecution of the Christians, and of late years, as Origen testifies, the magistrates had left the Christians in peace, and Christian teaching had spread unhindered. He now had to see a great change for the worse. The increase in the numbers of the Christians was too obvious to escape attention, and the heathen fêtes which celebrated the supposed one thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome excited the temper of the heathen, who saw how large were the numbers of those who conscientiously abstained from these pagan rejoicings. Before the end of the reign of Philip the Arabian a local rising against the Christians took place at Alexandria.

Decius.

The new Emperor Decius (A.D. 249–251) immediately busied himself with his campaign against the Goths. His partner, Valerian, a man of noble Roman race, undertook the task of consolidating the internal unity of the empire, and for this purpose began a persecution of the sect which he believed was a danger to that unity. The edict of 250

is the first systematic edict against Christianity. The text of the edict is now lost, but copious proofs exist to show its exact character. It wove a net which no Christian could escape. It laid down a principle, and showed precisely how that principle must be applied. On a fixed day in every part of the empire every suspected person, without distinction of age or sex, must appear at a temple, offer a sacrifice or burn incense, blaspheme Christ, and then partake of meat which had been offered to idols. The local magistrates had to enforce the ceremony, and a special commission supported them, and made it impossible for them to mitigate the law. The largest cities and the smallest villages had to submit to the same test. Those who offered sacrifice received a carefully worded certificate (*libellus*) to say that they had "offered sacrifice and tasted the victims."[1] The bishops of the great Christian sees were the special object of attack.[2] Fabian, bishop of Rome, Alexander of Jerusalem, Babylas of Antioch, perished; while Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian of Carthage, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neo-Caesarea saved their lives by flight. No pains were spared to bring back the Christians to the faith of their pagan fathers. In Rome either Decius or Valerian tried to persuade a prominent Christian named Celerinus to apostatise. The aged Origen was imprisoned. Death by burning, cruci-

[1] During the terrible persecution of the Christians in China in 1900 similar certificates were given to those who offered incense to idols, stating that the owner "renounced the religion in obedience to the official." An exact facsimile is printed in E. H. Edwards' *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, p. 110. In spite of some apostasies the martyrs in China were no less heroic than the Decian martyrs.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 39; Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

fixion, or beheading was sometimes inflicted, and the goods both of the slain and of the fugitive were confiscated. But inasmuch as the Christians were too numerous to be easily butchered, it was the emperor's purpose not to make martyrs but to unmake Christians.

His purpose was largely successful. The reign of terror was all the more terrifying because it came like a sudden explosion. Many Christians had had little experience of persecution, and were ill fitted to resist. Multitudes did actually apostatise and offer sacrifice. Many persuaded the magistrates to enter their names on the list of those who had sacrificed, when they had not really done so, and dishonestly received a certificate and the name of *libellatici*. The Church had never been sifted so thoroughly before, and the wheat and the chaff so distinctly separated. A new seriousness and enthusiasm were kindled among the faithful, and though the apostates were many, every class of society furnished recruits for the army of martyrs.

The death of Decius (251) brought a short pause in the persecution, but Gallus (A.D. 251–253) soon revived it, and Cornelius, bishop of Rome, was sent into exile at Centumcellae. His successor, Lucius, was also banished.

Gallus.

The dreaded Valerian now took the reins of government (253–260). At first he was lenient, but in 257 he changed his mind, and issued a persecuting edict. His policy was new. Decius had attacked Christianity as a religion, and desired that the Christians should return to the one established religion of the empire. Valerian attacked Christianity as a society. To banish the hierarchy, to forbid the

Valerian.

assembling of Christians for worship, to prohibit the use of cemeteries by Christians, were the tactics of the new persecution. Attendance at Christian worship was now the proof of belonging to an illegal association, and attendance was therefore a crime like brigandage. Thus we find that some Roman Christians were buried alive while worshipping in a crypt on the Via Salaria, and the deacon Tharsicius was killed while carrying the reserved sacrament to someone near the catacombs of Callistus. But it was found that this law did not crush Christianity quickly enough. So in 258 another edict ordered that bishops, priests, and deacons should be put to death, while Christian senators and knights were to be deprived of their property. The law was immediately enforced. On August 6th, 258, Pope Sixtus II. was discovered with his clergy in the catacombs of Praetextatus, and was beheaded sitting in his episcopal chair. On August 10th his deacon, Laurence, was put to death, and on September 14th perished Cyprian, the great bishop of Carthage. Early in the next year the martyrdom of Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, and his two deacons, heads the list of the oldest Spanish "Acts of the Martyrs." That very year the barbarians invaded Italy, Spain, and Asia Minor, and Valerian died, the captive and the sport of the Persian army.

The persecutions of Decius and Valerian had the effect of pushing the most practical questions of Church policy into the foreground, and of testing the practical capacities of her rulers. Like the inner struggles of the Church in the second century, these outward conflicts promoted a wholesome development of ecclesiastical organisation and discipline. Among

the most practical of ecclesiastics and best of Christians was Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, bishop of Carthage. The troubles of the time only made his dignity, humility, firmness, and wisdom more conspicuous than would have been possible in days of peace. His works are written in polished and masculine Latin, and for some two hundred years Western Christendom regarded them as next in importance to the Holy Scriptures. There remain twelve undoubtedly genuine treatises, and a collection of eighty-one letters, written partly by Cyprian and partly to Cyprian by his contemporaries. Besides these works there are several nearly contemporary and important writings which have been wrongly attributed to Cyprian. Among them is a vigorous attack on gambling called *De Aleatoribus* and a treatise, *De Rebaptismate*, which was probably written in Rome.

S. Cyprian.

Cyprian was a convert from heathenism, and was elected bishop of Carthage in 248 or 249. When the Decian persecution broke out he left the city, less for his own sake than for the sake of his flock. Five presbyters had opposed his elevation to the bishopric, and his flight from Carthage embittered their hostility. Meanwhile the persecution continued and, as we have already seen, many Christians fell and offered incense to the gods or procured a *libellus* to the effect that they had done so. The Church naturally classed both those who had sacrificed and those who had procured certificates without sacrificing as *lapsed* and renegade. To the annoyance of Cyprian he found that the renegades, relying on the reverence which the Church felt for the *confessors* who had been imprisoned for confessing

Christ, had gone to the confessors and procured *libelli pacis*. These were notes demanding rather than requesting that the bearer should be received back into the communion of the Church. "Communicet ille cum suis," "Let him and his friends communicate," was the brief and imperious formula written often by an ignorant "confessor" and presented by an unworthy renegade to his bishop. Cyprian, acting in union with the clergy of Rome, declined to submit to this dictation. He ordered that immediate absolution should only be granted to repentant renegades if they were dying; the others must do penance and wait for a formal decision.[1] The hostile presbyters, among whom was Novatus, resisted, desiring that every renegade who had obtained a *libellus pacis* should be admitted to communion without undergoing any penitential discipline. Novatus was supported by a rich layman named Felicissimus, who energetically opposed a commission sent by Cyprian to relieve the poor Christians of Carthage. Cyprian excommunicated Felicissimus, and early in 251, after Cyprian had returned to Carthage, he held a Council which ratified this excommunication. The Council decided that repentant renegades who had offered sacrifice or incense to idols might be absolved on their death-beds; the cases of the *libellatici* were to be examined separately, and a time of penance appointed for each offender; those who refused to do penance and did not show a heartfelt sorrow were given no hope of reconciliation.[2] The importance of this decision was momentous, for it definitely settled that a Christian who had been guilty of the extreme sin of denying

Novatus.

[1] *Ep.* 30. [2] *Ep.* 55.

Christ might be restored to the Church before he departed this life. The decision was on a line with the previous decision that persons who had broken the seventh Commandment might be restored. But so stringent was the sense of moral obligation among the primitive Christians that some opposition to the decision of the Council of Carthage was to be expected from the more rigorous members of the Church. And the opposition came. To trace it we must turn our eyes to Rome.

Novatianus.

In Rome, after the martyrdom of S. Fabian in January, 250, the appointment of a new bishop was rendered impossible for a time by the tornado of persecution which was raging. In the meantime the presbyters did what they could for the good of the Church, and among these presbyters was prominent a certain Novatianus. He was a theologian of eminence, and wrote a work *On the Trinity*, in which he criticised the teaching of Sabellius the "Monarchian." He had a thorough knowledge of Scripture, he was trained in rhetoric, and the elegance of his Latin is in marked contrast with the rough and vulgar Latin of an official letter sent by the Roman clergy to Cyprian.[1] Until this period Greek, and not Latin, was usually employed by the Roman Church as the language of learned intercourse, and Novatian's writings show a successful transition to a language which was vernacular without being vulgar. It was only natural that some of the clergy should desire that he should be the successor of S. Fabian. Their hopes were mistaken, for early in 251 the majority elected Cornelius, himself soon to be

[1] Cyprian, *Ep.* 8.

a martyr. Immediately a dispute arose about the penitential discipline required of the lapsed. The rigorist party in Rome objected that Cornelius had held friendly relations with lapsed bishops, and soon afterwards they consummated their schism by making Novatianus their bishop. Incredible as it may seem, Novatus, the Carthaginian priest who had been the chief upholder of a lax treatment of the renegades and had come to Rome to stir up opposition to Cyprian, warmly supported Novatianus. Certain "confessors" also joined the new sect, which was propagated with the greatest zeal. In Carthage the schism failed, but it caused a serious defection from the Church in the East, winning support for itself in Egypt, Asia, and Syria. Fabius, bishop of Antioch, favoured Novatian, but his death in 252 checked the progress of the schism. Dionysius, the great and learned bishop of Alexandria, sided with Cyprian and Cornelius.

Development of Novatian Heresy.

The Novatians remained a very powerful sect for the next two hundred years, and the history of their doctrine is a valuable illustration of the manner in which a heresy grows. It is perfectly plain that they began by simply refusing to admit to communion Christians who had been guilty of *idolatry* and then repented. They did not refuse reconciliation to repentant *adulterers*. But they gradually extended their rule so as to exclude all persons, however repentant they might be, who had been guilty of any deadly sin. In the fourth and fifth centuries they went still further, for they then defended their practice by teaching that "the Church cannot forgive mortal sin," an uncatholic and unscriptural doctrine which ministered as much

to spiritual pride in the unfallen as to despair in the fallen.

The second effect produced by the persecution upon the inner life of the Church was an important controversy with regard to baptism. The question at stake was: Is baptism valid when administered by heretics, or must heretics be rebaptised when they submit to the Church?

Controversy about Heretical Baptism.

In the earliest times the question had never become acute. For the Gnostic sects had usually tried to honeycomb the Church with their opinions and not to attack it openly from outside. They wished to remain members of the Church and gradually gain a preponderant authority for themselves within the Church. Their attempt failed, and they saw that if they wished to continue they must organise. The Marcionites realised this from the first, and set the example of planting church against church and altar against altar. The other sects were less bold and less successful, and at the close of the second century the Gnostic sects were split into fractions. The Church was evidently winning, and her unity appeared attractive to those who were outside her fold. How was the Church to receive them if they desired to be reconciled? Some were Churchmen who had fallen into heresy; some had never been Churchmen but had been born of heretical parents, or had left Judaism or paganism to join some Christian sect. For the first class it was easy to legislate. Having been reared in genuine Christianity they had been guilty of gross sin in becoming schismatics, and when they desired to return to the Church they were compelled to go through the same penitential exercises

as other notorious sinners. But it would be unjust to impose these severe conditions on the second class of heretics. Their heresy was involuntary, and the door should be opened to them as widely as possible. This was universally recognised, and yet two different customs had grown up in different parts of the Christian world with regard to the reception of converted heretics. In Alexandria,[1] in Asia Minor,[2] and in North Africa,[3] it was the practice to rebaptise them. At Rome, on the contrary, the baptism of heretics was considered to be a genuine baptism, and the converts were only required to receive absolution by laying on of the bishop's hands, and confirmation, a rite which then formed the conclusion of the baptismal service.

The Novatian schism quickly brought these differences into the foreground. The Novatians claimed to be the sole Catholic Church, and the Novatians rebaptised the Catholics who joined them, exactly as the Catholics of North Africa had rebaptised any heretics who joined the Church. But if a Novatian in Rome repented of his schism, was he to be received into the Church in a different manner from one who was received in North Africa? Stephen, bishop of Rome (A.D. 253–257), maintained the Roman tradition that baptism outside the Church was valid if it was administered in the proper manner, and he could no doubt urge that the Novatians were only heretics so far as they were schismatics, their belief in the Trinity was sound, and they therefore administered baptism

Dispute between Stephen and Cyprian.

[1] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 19.
[2] Firmilian in Cypr. *Ep.* 75; Eus. *H. E.* vii. 7.
[3] Tert. *de Bapt.* 15; Cypr. *Ep.* 73.

with the right words. Cyprian maintained that no one can be baptised outside the Church, baptism being a means of entrance into the Church. Two Church synods at Carthage in 255 and 256 supported Cyprian. And in September, 256, a synod of eighty-seven bishops of all the African provinces met at the same place and reaffirmed the same principle in spite of the fact that Stephen had refused to see Cyprian's representatives and had threatened the African bishops with excommunication. Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, a man as eminent for his learning and piety as Cyprian himself, took the same line and was actually excommunicated by Stephen. Dionysius of Alexandria, though he had adopted the same usage of Stephen, played a part very similar to that of Irenaeus in the time of Victor, for he wrote to Stephen declining to assent to his excommunication of other Catholics.[1]

Soon after the death of Stephen in 257, the question collapsed. Either his successor Xystus, or the next Pope, Dionysius, receded from the acts of Stephen. Dionysius sent both kind words and generous alms to the "excommunicated" Catholics of Caesarea. We know that as late as 314 the Church of North Africa continued its former practice, and late in that century S. Basil at Caesarea still kept up the practice of S. Firmilian. Soon afterwards the Church agreed that baptism administered by heretics is valid if it is properly performed; if heretics fulfil the conditions which the Church requires, their sacraments are the sacraments of the Church. The Church has thus everywhere accepted the theory of Stephen. But it is quite evident that Stephen's own successors, as well as

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 5, 7, 9.

his contemporaries, saw nothing infallible in a pope's decision on a matter of faith, and that even Cyprian, who strongly upheld the primatial character of the see of Rome, felt himself under no obligation whatever to submit to the pope's intervention in his diocesan affairs.

We have already noticed that when the Decian persecution broke out, Cyprian retired and hid himself. The fact that he was not open to the charge of cowardice was proved triumphantly eight years afterwards. In 257 Paternus, proconsul of Africa, acquainted Cyprian of an imperial mandate that those who had deserted the Roman religion should return to the ceremonies of their ancestors. Cyprian declared that he was a Christian, and added that he prayed daily for the safety and prosperity of the emperors. He was then banished to Curubis (now Kurba), about forty miles from Carthage. After some months he was recalled and allowed to dwell amid some gardens near Carthage, which he had previously sold for the benefit of the poor. At length, just a year after he had been arrested, Galerius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, received the imperial warrant for his execution. Cyprian was placed in a chariot and taken to a private house. Supper was provided for his entertainment, and his friends were allowed to enjoy his society. The next day he was taken to appear before the proconsul. He firmly refused to sacrifice, and the magistrate then condemned him to death as "the head of an accursed conspiracy, the enemy of the gods of Rome, and the cause and ringleader of the most iniquitous crimes." He was then led away to a plain near the city and beheaded at one blow of the sword. Before the blow was struck

Death of S. Cyprian.

he directed that twenty-five pieces of gold should be given to his executioner. This memorable death took place on September 14th, 258.

S. Cyprian's principles.

There has of recent years been some tendency to misrepresent this wise and courageous saint. He had a genius for organisation and secured a greater respect for the episcopate, and a clearer recognition of the solidarity of the Church. And this fact has been interpreted, or rather perverted, to mean that his religion was primarily of a legal type, and that his special interest lay in the exaltation of the clerical office. But it cannot be rightly maintained either that S. Cyprian's mind was primarily devoted to the external side of religion, or that he added anything new to the belief of his predecessors with regard to the ministry and the sacraments. A bishop is to Cyprian what a bishop was to Irenaeus and Ignatius. The Church to him, as to S. Paul, is one with a visible external unity. The essence of that unity is the life of Christ communicated to the Church, that is, to a visible society bound together by visible bonds. And to this visible society the Christian must necessarily belong: "he cannot have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother." Again he says that "thou oughtest to know that the bishop is in the Church and the Church is in the bishop." But so far was he from claiming any absolute autocracy for his sacred office that he says that he made it a fixed rule "to do nothing on his own private judgment, but everything with the counsel of his clergy and the consent of his laity."[1]

[1] *Ep.* 14, 4.

CHAPTER XIII

ENVIRONMENT OF THE CHURCH A.D. 260–303

THE persecution of the Church by Decius and Valerian had broken a long-established peace, and the gods of Rome, instead of manifesting pleasure at this attempt to vindicate their prestige, had done nothing to save the frontiers of the Roman Empire. The Persians had captured Antioch, Tarsus, and Caesarea in Cappadocia. Gallienus, the new emperor (A.D. 260–268), saw that nothing was to be gained by the murder of harmless bishops, and he penned an edict which gave back to "the magistrates of the Word" the right to exercise their sacred ministry. Then he sent rescripts directing how his wishes were to be carried out. One addressed to Dionysius of Alexandria still remains.[1] It restores to the clergy their "religious places" which the State had seized. Other rescripts threw open the cemeteries once more to Christian use. The significance of these regulations was obvious. They invested the Church with a formal and official recognition, the legal right both to be and to have. It was the nearest approach which had been made hitherto towards the actual establishment of the Church by Constantine about fifty years later, going

Gallienus.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 13.

decidedly beyond the indirect recognition of Christian congregations as "funeral associations," under which title they had found protection in earlier times.

Unfortunately Gallienus was a weakling. He only retained Italy and Africa in his own grasp; on the borders of the empire there was a steady tendency for separate kingdoms to arise in the hands of capable usurpers. Thus Egypt became the prey of Macrianus, and in the far East Queen Zenobia exercised her sway at Palmyra. It was the "era of the thirty tyrants" which lasted until 284, when Diocletian stopped this piecemeal division of the empire. The fortunes of the Christians were balloted among these princes, but on the whole they were prosperous. There was a local persecution under Claudius the Goth (268–270), but peace was restored under Aurelian.

Aurelian.

Aurelian (A.D. 270–275) marks a transition in the history of Rome. On the northern limits of the empire the barbarians were pressing very hard. German hordes were settling on the lands of older populations which they had displaced, the Franks had ravaged Spain, the Goths had plundered Athens, and Queen Zenobia had established at Palmyra a seat of commerce, arts, and independence. Equitable and rigid discipline was the secret of Aurelian's remarkable success. But side by side with his minute military regulations and his usual love of justice we find impatience at the restraint of civil institutions, and disdain of governing by any other power than the power of the sword. Absolutism became more marked, Aurelian's coins were marked with the title of "Lord and God," and he surrounded himself with Oriental ceremonial. He was acquainted

with the manners and the organisation of the Christians, for when certain Roman senators hesitated to open the Sibylline books to obtain oracular advice, he said angrily, "One would suppose you were in a church of the Christians and not in the temple of all the gods." He gave a memorable decision affecting the property of the Church. When the heretic Paul of Samosata was deposed in 272, the Catholics of Antioch claimed the ecclesiastical property which had been in his possession. They appealed to the emperor, and no doubt felt that they would probably have his support. Their interests coincided, for Aurelian was not likely to help a favourite of the still unvanquished Zenobia, and he was too clever a statesman to miss an opportunity of binding the Christians of Antioch more closely to the heart of the empire. They were not disappointed, for the decision was that the goods in question must belong to those who are in communion with the bishops of Italy and the bishop of Rome.[1] This was quite on a line with the policy of Gallienus, namely, to recognise the bishops as holding a legitimate and practically an official position. Aurelian, however, was an ardent pagan, and in 274 he is said by Lactantius[2] to have issued a bloodthirsty edict against the Christians, the execution of which was interrupted by his death.

Aurelian and Sun-worship.

Aurelian's own religion was a religion of transition. As emperor of Rome he upheld the somewhat frigid worship of the Roman State. But in his own heart he preferred the worship of Mithras, the sun-god. He was himself the child of a priestess of the sun; he built at Rome a

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 30. [2] *de Morte pers.* 6.

magnificent temple dedicated to the sun, he called him "lord of the Roman empire," he instituted a college of pontiffs in his honour, he stamped his image on the Roman coinage. Elagabalus, earlier in the same century, had tried to gather together the worship of all the gods in the cult of the sun-god of Emesa, and now Aurelian repeated the process for Mithras. After he had sacked Palmyra and quelled every sedition in his great empire, he loaded the temples of Rome with his gifts. But he gave more than 15,000 pounds of gold to the great temple which he built on the Quirinal hill, in which he placed the images of Bel and the Sun.

On the whole, there can be no doubt that the worship of Mithras promoted Monotheism. The people who worshipped the god of the brightest and most imposing object in nature became less disposed to worship other gods, except perhaps as the dependants and stewards of the sun-god. The new religion seems to have had a purer moral tone than many Eastern cults, while its rites excelled them in interest and significance. It possessed a hierarchy of ministers and ceremonies which resembled baptism and the Eucharist. It was the last utterance of Roman syncretism, the temper which tried to amalgamate what was most vigorous and most consoling in every creed. As such we must consider it in connection with the last utterance of Greek philosophy, the system which we call Neo-Platonism.

Neo-Platonism.

Neo-Platonism was first definitely developed by Plotinus, a pupil of Ammonius Saccas of Alexandria. He settled in Rome in 244, was honoured by the Emperor Gallienus and other contemporaries, and when he died in 270 his

Plotinus.

numerous books were edited in six Enneads by his pupil, Porphyry. The philosophy of Plotinus is an ingenious mixture of Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Stoicism. It also shows a Jewish colouring derived from Philo, and a Gnostic-Christian element derived from Basilides. All life is taught to be a movement towards the good end, which is a principle called by Plotinus "the first God." It is what Plato sometimes called "the Good" and sometimes "God." This "first God" is said to produce Mind (Nous), which is the image and child of the first. In Mind there is both unity and difference, and it contains all possible conceptions. Thus "the first God" reproduces himself by a kind of overflow. Then from Mind there comes "the soul of the world." This soul has a double life; its higher life is illuminated by Mind, but its lower life works without reason and animates the material world. The upper and the lower soul he calls the heavenly, and the earthly Aphrodite, and he also calls the lower soul *nature*. In spite of the superficial resemblance which this theory bears to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, the difference is very great. Plotinus is very seldom consistent, but when he is consistent his view of "the first God" is merely Agnostic; the title "image" given to "Mind" is meant to emphasise not the likeness so much as the inferiority of the second person of his trinity to the first; and lastly, "the soul of the world," which is only a faded-out copy of Mind, and tends to a lower life, is quite unlike the Christian doctrine of a pure and divine Spirit.

When attacking the Christians Plotinus defends the beauty of the material world. But, with his usual

inconsistency, he considers it a disgrace to be born, and conceals his birthday as a day of shame. The goal of all human conduct is to attain the sense of union with God. Plotinus truly urges against the Stoics that evil does not consist in being material, but in an inner dependence upon matter. Therefore freedom from matter cannot, as some Stoics think, be reached by suicide. It is better to lead a life of ascetic purification, and so endeavour to reach those moments of ecstasy when the soul contemplates God no longer as external, but within itself. Much of this teaching is good and beautiful, but Plotinus marred it by representing true union with God as only possible for those who retire from the annoyance and the sorrows of life. In Porphyry the Tyrian (died 304) Neo-Platonism and Greek paganism itself made their most effective attack upon Christianity. Of his fifteen books *Against the Christians*, only fragments now remain, chiefly preserved in the writings of Macarius Magnes. The Christians certainly did not underestimate his ability. Replies to Porphyry were written by Methodius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Apollinarius of Laodicea, and Philostorgius. S. Augustine describes him as the "most learned of philosophers, though the keenest enemy of the Christians," and the Emperor Constantine could find no harsher rebuke for the Arian heretics than the title "Porphyrians." And Porphyry, on his side, was not so foolish as to treat Christianity with superficial scorn. A hundred years had passed since Celsus wrote, and Christianity had proved its power. Porphyry disputed with Christians for a year in Rome before he wrote his attack upon Christianity, and he

Porphyry the Neo-Platonist.

was really anxious to teach a scientific philosophy of religion. He attacked the doctrine that the world was created in time, the incarnation, and the resurrection. He criticised what he believed to be contradictions in the Bible, repudiated the Old Testament prophecies about Christ, maintained (with great acuteness) that the Book of Daniel was written as late as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and said that the Gospel gave a false picture of Christ. He said that Christ was "very pious" and made immortal by the gods, though his own ideal teacher seems to have been Pythagoras and not Christ. He shows the strongest possible antipathy towards S. Paul, who appears to him as a barbarian and the enemy of culture. It is highly instructive to notice how this representative of the Greek spirit cannot tolerate the apostle who gave to Christianity a language and an outward form which the Greek mind accepted in spite of its first resentment.

Neo-Platonism as a Religion.

The Neo-Platonism of Porphyry was not only a philosophy; it was a religion. He wished to find ample room in his system for the gods of the populace. They were to be regarded as representatives and manifestations of the one all-pervading Deity. Here Neo-Platonism anticipated the Pantheistic philosophy of modern India, which tries to justify the gross popular cults and to find an edifying meaning in the most sensual and degrading myths. Porphyry's pupil Iamblichus carried this process to extreme limits; there was no form of popular worship for which he did not discover an excuse, and in his philosophy the speculations of Greece retire before the magic of Syria. Porphyry himself was not able to resist the tendency to supple-

ment philosophy with superstition and magic. This his Christian adversaries perceived, and S. Augustine cleverly remarked, "you may see him fluctuate alternately between the vice of sacrilegious curiosity and a profession of philosophy." Neo-Platonism contained some noble teaching about the necessity of man lifting up his soul to God, and S. Augustine tells us of a Platonist who said that the beginning of S. John's Gospel ought to be inscribed in letters of gold. But Neo-Platonism failed. It was unable to assure man that God the Father takes a personal interest in the welfare of every soul, or that God the Son became the Man of sorrows, and it ended amid the fingering of amulets and baths of bulls' blood.

If Neo-Platonism was the chief rival and opponent of Christian theology in the Greek and Roman world, Manichaeism was now its chief rival in the East. The immense importance of Manichaeism rests on two facts. The first is that it is the grave of the great heresies of the primitive Church, a grave from which they rose to haunt Europe during the Middle Ages. The second is that it shows that a religion of distinctly Persian origin nearly became one of the great religions of the world. Since A.D. 226 the Persian kingdom of the Sassanides had broken up the domination of the Parthians, and Roman rule in the East was more than once shaken by the Persians. Their power extended from northern India to Mesopotamia and Armenia, and they even sacked Antioch and Caesarea in Cappadocia. Manichaeism was an attempt to provide a common religion for the peoples of the empire, a religion predominantly Persian but including elements which amalgamated the religion

Manichaeism.

of Persia with that of the adjacent countries. Its peculiarities were considerably modified when the Manichaean propaganda spread Westward, but it never seems to have lost its essentially Persian foundation.

Mani, who is called Manes in Greek, and also Manichaeus (from an Armenian form of his name),[1] was born about 216 at Mardinu, near Ctesiphon. His father was Fatâk Bâbak, a Persian of Ecbatana. His mother was related to the Parthian royal house. Mani's father while in South Babylonia joined a sect of men whom medieval Arabic writers call the Moghtasilah, and who seem to be substantially the same as the Elkesaites.[2] Mani was trained in their principles, and on the coronation day of King Sapor I., in A.D. 242, he proclaimed his message to that monarch. Opposed by the Persian hierarchy, he retired and devoted his energies to missionary work in the far East. He reached India and China, and returned to Persia late in the reign of Sapor I., and converted the king's brother. He was imprisoned but escaped, and returned when Hormuz I. came to the throne. Hormuz treated Mani with favour, but his successor, Bahram I., was bitterly hostile. An ancient Arab writer who gives us some valuable information about Mani, says, "it is well known that Bahram killed Mani, stripped off his skin, filled it with grass, and hung it up at the gate of Gundisapur, which is even still known as the Mani-gate."[3]

Mani: his life.

He left behind him a number of sacred books, of

[1] Socrates *H. E.* i. 22 shows how early both forms of the name were in use.

[2] In Socrates *loc. cit.* there is a confused account of his origin.

[3] Albirûnî, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by Dr. C. Edward Sachau, p. 191. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1879.)

which the most important were the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Gospel* or *Treasure of life*, and the *Book of rules for hearers*. The system which they inculcated started from the old Persian belief that the world is a battle-ground between Light and Darkness, which are opposed as good and evil. This Persian belief is overlaid with Babylonian theories connected with the worship of the stars, and in consequence of these theories good and evil are not regarded as strictly spiritual powers but as material elements. In the kingdom of light dwells the King of light, the good God. Out of the kingdom of darkness came Satan, who invaded the kingdom of light to make a robber campaign. The "primeval man," clad in the five elements of light, went forth to meet him. He was first conquered by Satan, but then delivered by good spirits. Unfortunately part of his substance was already devoured by the darkness. In order to emancipate this portion of the light, the good God allows his angels to make the world out of the mixed elements of light and darkness. The sun and the moon are now formed to be the receptacle of portions of light which are to be saved. The twelve constellations of the Zodiac are a revolving wheel of twelve baskets destined to carry this light to the moon and to the sun, where it will be made pure once more. In order to check this emancipation of the light which is now imprisoned in the darkness, Satan created Adam and concentrated the light in him in order that it might remain more completely in his own power. He then created Eve so that she might tempt Adam and cause the light within him to grow dim. Adam begets Seth in whom the light preponderates, and the spirits of light try to draw his

Mani: his doctrine.

descendants upwards by the prophets Noah, Abraham, Zoroaster, and Buddha. In the meantime the powers of evil employ Moses and the Jewish prophets to lead them astray. After these comes Jesus, who continues the task of the good prophets. He is a heavenly spirit, formed of light, and is the "impassible Jesus," having no genuine human body. Apparently the Manichaeans taught that He was the same as the "primeval man." The sufferings and death inflicted upon Him by the powers of evil were only in appearance. They were symbols of the temporary overthrow of the "passible Jesus" or soul of the world, consisting of the light imprisoned in the world. The resurrection was a symbol of the release of the "passible Jesus." The work of Jesus was continued by S. Paul and by Mani, who is the Paraclete. He brings full knowledge to mankind, and his followers, "the elect," will be able to free their light from all darkness. At the end the souls that are not elect will fall under the power of darkness, the world will be ruined and the kingdom of light will be for ever separated from the darkness. It must be added that the historical Jesus seems to have been distinguished from both the "impassible" and the "passible" Jesus. The historical Jesus was taught to be a prophet of the devil, who, for the punishment of His wickedness, suffered actual death instead of the "impassible Jesus." How Mani distinguished the teaching of the historical Jesus from that of the "impassible Jesus" is not quite clear. Possibly he attributed to the former all the sayings of Jesus which in any way seemed to sanction the teaching of the Old Testament, and to the latter all the sayings which could be pressed into the service of Manichaeism.

Corresponding with the strong dualism of the doctrinal system, we find a rigorous asceticism. Wine and flesh meat were forbidden, and the "elect" received a "sealing" on mouth, hands, and breast, as a sign of abstinence from forbidden food and material work and marriage. Under the "elect" were the "hearers," who were allowed to lead a much easier life, and like the Buddhist laity, furnished food to the celibate "elect." The high-priest of the sect resided at Babylon, and there were in the fifth century twelve "masters" and seventy-two "bishops." Baptism was administered with oil, and the Eucharist with bread only. Sunday was always a fast day. The day of Mani's death in the month of March was observed with great solemnity on the festival of the Bêma, the Manichaeans prostrating themselves before a richly adorned chair, the symbol of their departed master.

Manichaean Practices.

The spread of Manichaeism in Persia, Mesopotamia, and the East was rapid. After the rise of Islam the Manichaeans gradually retired from the city to the rural districts, but they maintained their existence in Samarcand for centuries. They influenced the important sect of Paulicians. In the West they were known as early as A.D. 280, and a rescript of the Emperor Diocletian to the proconsul of North Africa shows that before A.D. 300 the government was already alarmed at their progress. Even if this rescript is not genuine, it is certain that the sect became very powerful in Africa in the fourth century, and S. Augustine was a Manichaean "hearer" before he accepted Christianity.

Spread of Manichaeism.

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH A.D. 180–300

IN the latter half of the third century the Church had done much towards the formation of an organisation of the districts over which her influence extended. Not only were Christian bishops planted in a vast number of towns, and the outlines of their bishoprics already determined, but these bishoprics had begun to form groups around certain great central sees. The bishops of these great sees were therefore already in the position of *metropolitans* presiding over other bishops, and in one or two cases groups of metropolitans were more or less informally under the sway of a bishop occupying the position which in later times became known by the title of patriarchate. It has been erroneously supposed that the Church, in creating this organisation, imitated the different grades of priests appointed in each Roman province to direct the worship paid to the emperor.

Groups of Bishoprics.

This is a fanciful exaggeration of a fact. At first the jurisdiction of a Christian bishop had undefined boundaries. As the Christians grew in number it became necessary to define where the territory of each bishopric ended, and the cities of the empire presented

boundaries ready-made. And when the bishoprics formed into groups, their limits were fixed by the same geographical and historical facts as had determined the limits of the empire. An assimilation between the two was inevitable; but no complete assimilation took place until Christianity was the established religion of the empire.

Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, having been destroyed and replaced by the heathen city of Ælia, was slow in regaining its position as "the holy city" of Christendom. Even in ecclesiastical writings its bishops were sometimes known as bishops of Ælia, and they were inferior to the metropolitans of Caesarea, a city of Greek speech, and one of the few cities in Palestine where Christianity was strongly planted before the time of Constantine. Through Origen and Pamphilus the Church of Caesarea became as remarkable for its theological learning as for the number of its members. Its metropolitan connection was already formed in 190, when a synod was held to give a decision with regard to the date of observing Easter.[1] In 231 a Palestinian synod was held, and it rejected the condemnation of Origen pronounced by Demetrius of Alexandria. But the position of Jerusalem certainly rose higher during the third century, partly because the Christians of other lands were in the habit of making pilgrimages to the holy places associated with the memory of our Lord. The result may be seen in the positions given respectively to the bishops of Caesarea and those of Jerusalem in official documents. Dionysius of Alexandria mentions Theoctistus of Caesarea before Mazabanes of Ælia;[2] but in 268, at the great synod held at

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 23. [2] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 5, 1.

Antioch to deal with Paul of Samosata, the bishop of Jerusalem seems to have taken precedence of the bishop of Caesarea.

Antioch.

Antioch was even more important than Caesarea. The Christians there spoke Greek, and were in intimate connection with the most civilised parts of the Roman Empire. But the Syriac language was spoken close to the gates of the city, and consequently the Church of Antioch was the great connecting-link between Greek and Syrian Christianity. It was the Rome of the far East, and the influence of the bishops of Antioch extended as far as Mesopotamia, Persia, and Armenia. Its metropolitan position is at least as old as 251, when Dionysius of Alexandria and other bishops were summoned to Antioch on account of Fabius, bishop of that place, appearing to favour Novatianism. When Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, fell into heresy, synods were held in his own city in 264 and 268, and at the last synod seventy or eighty bishops were present, including bishops from Pontus in Asia and Bostra in Arabia.

Edessa.

Edessa was the home and heart of Syrian Christianity in the third century. About 200 Serapion of Antioch consecrated Palut as bishop of Edessa, but it is not probable that he was the first bishop of those regions, for as early as 190 the Churches of Osroene and adjacent places communicated with Rome on the Paschal controversy. It was a thoroughly Christian town, and though the cities in its immediate neighbourhood were stubbornly pagan, it is known that at the end of the third century there were many Christians in Mesopotamia and Persia.[1] The connec-

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 5; *Praep. Ev.* vi. 10, 46.

tion of these Churches with Edessa is highly probable, but has not been fully elucidated.

Alexandria had other Egyptian Churches under its authority from a very primitive period, and early in the fourth century it was believed that S. Mark himself had put Churches under Alexandria.[1] But it is certain that in the latter half of the third century Egypt was dotted with Christian bishoprics, and that they were all subject to the bishop of Alexandria. It has been wrongly supposed that he governed entirely without Councils, but that this was not the case is shown by the statement in Photius (*Cod.* 118) that Demetrius held a "council of bishops and certain presbyters" to deal with Origen. His power was, nevertheless, immense, and it extended not only over Egypt, but also over the Libyan Pentapolis, where the bishops were under a metropolitan of their own, who was himself subject to the bishop of Alexandria.

Alexandria.

Asia Minor abounded with Christians, the bishops were numerous, and their organisation was far advanced. About the close of the second century synods were held to oppose Montanism,[2] and in the middle of the third century large synods were held at Iconium and Synnada to discuss the validity of baptism administered by heretics. Iconium, Laodicea, and Ancyra all appear to have been in a position which may be called, roughly, metropolitan.

Asia Minor.

Our general conclusion is that the organisation of the Church was already far advanced in the East. Church synods or councils were familiar, and certain groups of bishoprics had already been formed. A

[1] Eus. *H. E.* ii. 16. [2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 16.

careful examination shows that the grouping was influenced by geography, and not by the Roman provincial boundaries.

In the West there were two strongly centralised groups, that of the African provinces and that of Rome.

Roman Africa was the first large centre of Latin Christianity, for the Church embraced the Latin element in Africa while the Church of Rome was still predominantly Greek. In the time of S. Cyprian the bishops numbered about 140, and Christianity was more widespread than in any region except Asia Minor. Carthage was the centre of this Christianity, and the vigorous personality of S. Cyprian, and his constant communication with the bishops of Rome, Spain, and Gaul, increased the importance of the see. Synods were held by the bishops of Carthage at an early date. One such was held by Agrippinus about 220, when seventy bishops discussed the validity of heretical baptisms, another was held by Donatus at Lambese about 240, and Cyprian summoned large councils to deal with the questions of the penance of the lapsed and the validity of heretical baptism. At the close of the third century the African Church was still steadily growing, and in the fourth it had begun to absorb the old Punic population of the country.

Roman Africa.

Rome was the greatest centre of Church activity and organisation, and in the third century it had advanced so remarkably as to make it plain that the Christianity of Rome would exercise even more influence than that of Asia Minor. In 251 the Roman clergy numbered 155 persons, of whom

Rome.

forty-six were priests, and the number of Catholics was probably at least 30,000. A few years afterwards Dionysius of Rome connected a number of neighbouring dioceses with Rome. Even in 251 something of the nature of the rights of a metropolitan must have been recognised as belonging to the bishop of Rome, for in that year he assembled a synod of sixty bishops to deal with the case of Novatian. The metropolitical authority of Rome seems to have extended over southern Italy and most of central Italy. Northern Italy was Christianised much more slowly, and seems to have been more influenced by the East than by Rome.

Gaul.

In Gaul, Lyons was the first Christian bishopric, and there is good ground for thinking that a synod of bishops was held in Gaul in 190 to deal with the Paschal controversy.[1] Be this as it may, S. Cyprian's sixty-eighth letter seems to imply a synod held in the division of Gaul called Narbonensis, where Arles was the principal see, and another in the division called Lugdunensis, where Lyons was the principal see.

Britain.

The presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314 makes it probable that the British Church was organised in the third century.

Spain.

In Spain the Church had numerous adherents; there were many bishops, and in the time of S. Cyprian these bishops formed one body.[2] Cordova was probably the most important see.

The above brief survey of the condition of Christendom shows that the organisation of the Church was still incomplete, but was already a great and beneficent

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 23. [2] Cyprian, *Ep.* 67.

power. The episcopate itself was the visible bond of the Church's unity. Each newly consecrated bishop was consecrated by other bishops of his province, and if his see was of importance his consecration had to be made known to the occupants of other important sees with whom he had to be in full communion. Episcopal letters and the decisions of Church synods perpetually strengthened that unity which the episcopate secured. It is sometimes urged that the Catholic theory of the Church makes the unity of the Church depend upon its government. The very reverse is the case. Because the Church is one, its government is one. Because it is one, and embraces various nations in a unity, it is necessary that it should be held together by some bond which makes its unity recognisable. This bond is the episcopate, which, as S. Cyprian says, "is one."

Primacy of Rome.

The question as to whether the episcopate itself should have its unity manifested in one representative individual naturally arose in connection with the eminence enjoyed by the bishop of Rome. The fact that the two greatest apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, had been connected with the Church of Rome, and that Rome held their venerated relics, gave Rome a unique religious dignity in the eyes of the primitive Church. The spiritual vigour of the Roman Church and its position in the capital of the civilised world deepened the respect which was felt for the Roman Christians and their bishop. S. Clement, bishop of Rome, felt justified in sending in the name of the Church in Rome a dignified protest to the Church in Corinth (A.D. 95). S. Ignatius praises the Church of Rome as "taking precedence in charity'

(A.D. 110). Throughout the second century Christians from all quarters visited Rome, and consequently the Roman Church, which had shown her orthodoxy during the Gnostic crisis, was able to corroborate the truth of her own traditions by appealing to the witness of her orthodox visitors. This is the true meaning of the famous passage of S. Irenaeus, which often has been mistranslated so as to signify that other Christians must everywhere agree with Rome, whereas it really asserts that Christians from all quarters must come together at Rome. Irenaeus praises the Church of Rome on account of its greatness, its antiquity, its universal reputation, its foundation by "Paul and Peter," and the resort of all Christians thither. He appeals to the testimony of the Roman Church against Gnosticism, but his appeal does nothing whatever to support the modern papal claims, for he omits the one thing which is essential from the modern Roman point of view, viz. the infallible teaching office of the bishop of Rome. His own opposition to Victor in the Paschal controversy shows a resolute opposition to an important piece of administration on the part of the bishop of Rome, after the bishop's decision had been definitely made. In spite of this opposition Irenaeus has ever been regarded as a saint of the Catholic Church.

Development of Roman claims.

About the time of Victor and Irenaeus, tradition began to play tricks with the primitive history of the Roman Church. Irenæus himself, making use of a list of bishops which was apparently drawn up in Rome about 160, represents Linus as the first bishop of Rome and as appointed by S. Peter and S. Paul jointly.[1] Legend,

[1] *adv. Haer.* iii. 3; cf. i. 27 and iii. 4.

however, fastened on the great figure of S. Clement rather than Linus. And as the fanciful "Clementine" literature shows, S. Peter alone was imagined to have appointed Clement as in a peculiar sense his own successor and representative. Soon afterwards we find Callistus, bishop of Rome, especially appealing to the power given by our Lord to S. Peter to absolve or retain sins as justifying the absolutions which he himself was granting in Rome. It is not quite clear whether this claim made by Callistus implied an idea that the bishop of Rome had any more right to exercise jurisdiction over the Church than any other bishop. On the other hand, it is clear that he claimed for the bishop of Rome a position which represented the position that S. Peter held in relation to the other apostles. A further development is to be found in S. Cyprian's treatise on *The Unity of the Church.*[1] What he seems to mean is this. All the apostles had equal powers, but our Lord began by giving these powers in their fulness first to one of the apostles, S. Peter, in order to show the oneness of the Church. In the same way all bishops have the same powers, but one bishop, the bishop of Rome, as the successor of S. Peter, has a special place of honour, and thereby is a symbol of the oneness of the Church. The Church of Rome is the "ecclesia principalis," the primatial Church, and it is not only the first in honour, but it has founded so many other Churches that the unity of the bishops has originated in that Church, and it must therefore be regarded as first in authority. That the unity of all the bishoprics in Christendom was due to their having

[1] For the so-called interpolation in this treatise see Rev. E. W. Watson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1904, p. 432.

been founded by Rome is of course impossible, and Cyprian could not have meant his words to be so literally interpreted. But it was probably quite true that Rome had founded most of the bishoprics of Western Christendom, and on the strength of this Cyprian's contemporary, Pope Stephen, claimed that his "primacy" should be recognised and his directions obeyed by "new and recent Christians."[1] This claim is treated by S. Cyprian as "insolent" and "arrogant."

The State, in the person of the heathen emperor Aurelian, did much to ratify the primacy of Rome by directing that the property of the Church in Antioch should belong to those who were in communion with the bishop of Rome (A.D. 272). And near the same time Dionysius of Alexandria did not refuse to justify his own doctrinal teaching to Dionysius of Rome, when certain Egyptians, without trying to ascertain the exact meaning of the words used by their own Pope of Alexandria, carried a complaint against him to the Pope of Rome.[2]

In spite of the fact that the differences between East and West, between Greece, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Italy made for decentralisation, there was from very early times a certain centralisation of the Church at Rome. Nothing could be more natural or more convenient, so long as the bishops of Rome did not abuse their power. But the language of S. Irenaeus, S. Cyprian, and S. Firmilian of Caesarea, proves conclusively that their belief with regard to the bishop of Rome was a belief which differed not only in degree but also in kind from the doctrine that the Pope is the

[1] Cyprian, *Ep.* 71, 3.
[2] Athanasius, *de sent. Dionysii*, 13.

infallible teacher of the Church and the necessary centre of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so that no Christian bishop may act contrary to the Pope. In answer to their language it can be urged that whatever the Church thought then, the Church afterwards came to recognise that Rome was right, both with regard to the Paschal controversy and the validity of heretical baptism. We must not ignore this answer, but at the same time we can assert that it does not explain away the fact that to resist the Pope and even to be excommunicated by the Pope was not regarded by the primitive Church as involving any loss of Catholic privileges or even as a barrier to canonisation. And though it may be said that the Church afterwards ratified the action of the Popes with regard to the Paschal and the baptismal controversies, no such plea can be urged on behalf of some papal doctrines as to the Holy Trinity. We have seen above (pp. 136, 141) that three bishops of Rome, Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus, compromised the faith by supporting heresy which had been previously propagated in other dioceses. Similar phenomena occur in the fourth and in the fifth century. And hence there is no difficulty in understanding why the Church of the Fathers, while regarding the local Roman Church as the normal centre of unity, could not and did not believe that the bishop of Rome was divinely preserved from all error in his capacity of chief bishop of the Church.

Position of the Laity.

The Church synods to which we have referred in the course of this chapter are connected with an important question with regard to the laity. It is, What power, if any, had the laity in the legislative action of the Church? For

instance, when we are told of "the faithful" in Asia coming together to deal with Montanism, is it meant that orthodox laymen voted in these gatherings?[1] With regard to this vexed question we must keep strictly to the evidence at our disposal, and this evidence does not justify us in saying more than the following. The general principle throughout the whole of the period with which this volume deals seems to have been that a bishop in dealing with his own diocese was saved from acting irresponsibly by the vote of his presbyters; whereas in provincial synods, at which many bishops were present, each was supported or checked by the others. At provincial synods presbyters were sometimes associated with the bishops for consultative purposes, as when Origen took part in a synod which dealt with the heretic Beryllus,[2] and Malchion[3] in the synods which were held to deal with Paul of Samosata. But there is no clear evidence to show that presbyters had the right to be present, still less to vote. From S. Cyprian we learn that lay people were also sometimes present at the proceedings of synods, and means might be taken by the bishop to ascertain their feeling with regard to questions before the synods. We find them giving advice and opposing.[4] And when S. Cyprian was taking measures with regard to the penance of the lapsed, the opinion of those laymen who had stood firm during the persecution, was plainly of great value. But though at the great synod of 256, when eighty-seven bishops met together, "the greatest part of the people" were also present, the bishops alone delivered formal judgments. At the Council of Elvira about 305 the

[1] Eus. *H.E.* v. 16.
[2] *Op. cit.* vi 33.
[3] *Op. cit.* vii. 29.
[4] *Epp.* 17, 19, 34, 59. cf. 30. 31.

deacons and "plebs" were also standing by, and lay dialecticians joined in arguments when the Council of Nicaea met in 325. But we find nothing which at all suggests that laymen could be constituent members of an ecclesiastical synod. It was assumed that the bishops were the divinely appointed recipients of a commission to teach the truth of God, and that even though they felt the pulse of lay opinion, the action of the bishops alone was the action of the whole Church.

In judicial discipline we find the same principle. Corporate action is probably implied in the New Testament and in the *Didaché*, and also in S. Cyprian's letters. But the actual judgment seems to have rested in the hands of the hierarchy. S. Clement's letter to the Corinthians, A.D. 95, treats the Corinthian laymen as guilty of wrong in deposing their presbyters, apparently both for the grounds on which they have deposed them and for their assumed claim to be able to depose them at all. And S. Cyprian, though he obtained the concurrence of the laity, did not always feel bound by their advice.

In the election of Church officers we find that the influence of the laity was greater. For some centuries we find numerous instances of popular election or control over election to the offices of the Church. S. Clement speaks of presbyters chosen with the consent of the whole Church; the *Didaché* speaks in a similar way of the appointment of *episkopoi*; and the Canons of Hippolytus and the Egyptian Church rules of the third century refer to the election of bishops by the people. S. Cyprian assumes that in the case of bishops, presbyters and deacons, men should be chosen with whom the people are thoroughly acquainted, and

he treats the consent of the people as a substantial element in the proceeding. And of singular interest is the fact that the heathen emperor Alexander Severus praised the way in which the Church used to post the names of those whom she destined to the priesthood, so that objection might be raised, if necessary, to their ordination. He wished that the same practice might prevail in the appointment of civil governors.[1]

[1] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 45.

CHAPTER XV

CHURCH LAW AND WORSHIP

NEXT to the ecclesiastical organisation of the period we must study the Church law of the period, which is found in various "Church Orders." These Church Orders represent a principle which can be found in the life of every great society. The society at first tries to live in obedience to what are felt to be its real principles of action. Difficulties and problems occur and recur, and the society instinctively tends to solve these difficulties and problems in the same way. Thus there grows up a body of customary law. In course of time some individual, or the society itself, puts this law into writing for the convenience of future generations. Gradually new cases arise and are dealt with, and then some regulations affecting these cases are embodied in the law books. This is exactly what happened in the primitive Church. The earliest book of regulations is the *Didaché*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the title of which shows that the compiler was anxious to fortify his statements by appealing to an authority which no Christian could dispute. Between this simple manual and the elaborate Apostolical Constitutions of about A.D. 375 we find a series of Church Orders dealing with various questions of Church organisation, morality,

Origin of Church Orders.

and worship. It is only by a very careful comparison that the dates and localities of these documents can be fixed, but fresh discoveries are continually adding to our knowledge, and the evidence of the various Church Orders is universally recognised as throwing an important light on the life of the early Church.

Canons of Hippolytus.

The *Canons of Hippolytus* are among the most valuable and early of these Church Orders. It has many primitive marks in it, such as the fact that the prayer for the ordination of a bishop is, except for the change of title, the same as that for the ordination of a presbyter. Besides regulations for the selection and appointment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, there is mention of readers, sub-deacons, and a class of widows. Other canons describe conditions for the admission of converts, the celebration of the Eucharist, the observance of fast-days, daily services in church, and the fast in the week before Easter. Various rules are given for the agapae and memorial feasts. The book ends with a general exhortation to right living, both for those in the world and for the ascetic who "wishes to belong to the rank of the angels." Of these Canons we now possess only an Arabic version, but they were originally in Greek. They almost certainly belong to the time of Hippolytus, and may be as early as the end of the second century if they were really written in Rome. It has, however, been conjectured that they are identical with an epistle which Eusebius mentions (*H. E.* vi. 46) as having been sent by Dionysius of Alexandria to the Romans "by the hands of Hippolytus." This conjecture is possibly correct, but is not very probable.

Besides the Canons of Hippolytus there is the *Apostolic Church Order*, called "the directions given through Clement and the ecclesiastical canons of the holy Apostles," which exists in Syriac,[1] Latin, Greek, and Coptic. It begins with an extract from the *Didaché*, and then opens with a formula found in the Epistle of Barnabas, "Hail ye sons and daughters." It ends with an anecdote about Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, adverse to the employment of women in any important ministry of the Church. It gives orders for a ministry of one bishop, two or three presbyters, one reader, three deacons, and three widows. The most remarkable points are the desire that the bishop should be celibate, the high position of the reader, and the reference to visions which may be expected by the widows of the Church. It is also the only one of these books in which S. John has the first place. It was probably written in Egypt, and finally completed by A.D. 300.

The Apostolic Church Order.

The *Egyptian Church Order* is preserved for us in the Sahidic (a dialect of Coptic) "Ecclesiastical Canons," in the Æthiopic "Statutes of the Apostles," and perhaps in the Latin fragments of the Verona palimpsest. The Latin is somewhat more primitive than the Coptic, and one particularly interesting fact is that it contains prayers for the consecration of the Eucharist. These prayers, which are quoted below (p. 201), closely correspond with the Æthiopic. There is an elaborate confirmation with a double anointing of the candidates.

Egyptian Church Order.

The *Didascalia* is rather a discourse on Church life

[1] The entire text in Syriac and English is printed in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1901.

than a Church Order. It exists in a Syriac text which seems to be an unaltered translation of the original Greek, and more than one-third exists in Latin. It contains precepts for the laity, and an account of the duties and rights of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. It also contains the earliest known description of a Christian place of worship. It is directed that the women should be placed behind the men, a custom which still prevails in some Armenian churches. There is a peculiar chronology of holy week which is not consistent with the Gospels, for though our Lord is said to have been crucified on a Friday, He is said to have eaten the Passover on a Tuesday. The heresies of Simon Magus and Cleobius are mentioned, and there is an attack on Jewish and Judaeo-Christian traditions as to cleanness and uncleanness. The *Didascalia* is marked by a good deal of real common-sense in its treatment of these difficult questions. And the numerous allusions to the rebellious and untruthful habits of the widows, who formed a kind of religious order in the Church, show a considerable acquaintance with the frailty of human nature. The book is certainly of the third century, and was written in Syria or Palestine. The introduction represents it as sent from the apostles by the hand of Clement, their comrade. It is thus a part of the vast literature connected with the name of S. Clement of Rome.

Didascalia.

The Egyptian Church Order appears in a much expanded form in the Syriac *Testament of the Lord*, a document of the latter part of the fourth century, and the *Didascalia* appears expanded in the important Syrian document known as the *Apostolical Constitutions*. It is more than probable that some set of canons now

unknown to us lies behind both the Canons of Hippolytus and the Egyptian Church Order.

For the fourth and fifth centuries we have abundant references to Christian worship in the East, and many important facts are known to us about worship in the West. But between the period of Justin Martyr and the Council of Nicaea in 325, we have to depend upon brief or isolated allusions. The most important are those in the Canons of Hippolytus, in the Egyptian Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons, and in Tertullian. With regard to the Eucharist, we can safely assume that the main outline of the service was everywhere the same, as in the two next centuries it is found to be the same in spite of the development of national liturgical peculiarities.

Worship: the Eucharist.

The Eucharist was celebrated not only on Sundays but also on the anniversaries of martyrs, and in Africa on Wednesdays and Fridays. By the beginning of the third century a daily celebration was an established custom in Africa, and in A.D. 312 Eusebius of Caesarea speaks of the daily Eucharist. It was the service, above any other, which Christians were expected to attend. And the liberty to be present without communicating was sometimes exercised. Thus Tertullian considers the case of those who would not come to the Eucharist on fast days, on the ground that communion would put an end to their "station" or fasting. On these days he desires them to be present at the Eucharist, and to receive the Lord's body into their hands, reserving it for subsequent communion at home.[1] Clement of Alexandria speaks of the reception of communion by those present at the celebration as left to

[1] *de Orat.* 14.

their own conscience. "Some, after dividing the Eucharist according to custom, lay it upon each individual among the people to receive his portion [or not]. For it is best left to conscience to determine reception or avoidance."[1] Children received the Holy Communion immediately after baptism, but a passage in Origen suggests that they did not become regular communicants until they were older. The sacrament was received fasting. Tertullian warns the Christian wife of a heathen husband of the difficulty that she will have in eating the sacrament before all other food.[2] And the Canons of Hippolytus say "let not any of the faithful taste anything before he has partaken of the mysteries, especially on the days of the holy fast."

Liturgy of the Eucharist.

The liturgy contained two main divisions. At the first, which consisted of readings of Holy Scripture, the catechumens, who were being prepared for baptism, were present. The Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons mention the kiss of peace as given before the dismissal of the catechumens, but in some places it was given immediately afterwards. The second division of the service included the oblation of the gifts of bread, and of wine mixed with water. S. Cyprian upholds the necessity of the mixed chalice very strongly, calling it a "tradition from the Lord" (*Ep.* 63). In the subsequent part of the service occurred the familiar words—

> "Lift up your hearts.
> We lift them up unto the Lord.
> Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
> It is meet and right to do so."

[1] *Strom.* i. 1, 5. [2] *ad Uxorem*, ii. 5.

For the actual consecration the Sahidic Canons tell us that the pontiff must pray "over the oblation that the Holy Ghost descend on it, making the bread the body of Christ and the chalice the blood of Christ." In like manner the Verona Fragment directs the celebrant, after reciting the words, "This is my body," "This is my blood," etc., to say, "Mindful, therefore, of His death and resurrection we offer unto Thee the bread and the cup yielding thanks to Thee, because Thou hast held us worthy to stand before Thee and minister to Thee. And we pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of Thy Holy Church." The Eucharist was regarded as a sacrifice. Thus Apollonius at his trial refers to it as a "bloodless sacrifice," S. Irenaeus calls it "the pure sacrifice," S. Cyprian refers to it as "a true and perfect sacrifice." The latter also speaks of "offering the blood" and "offering the chalice in commemoration of the Lord." He apparently means that in the Eucharist we offer the blood which was once shed and plead the merits of Christ's passion.

The formulae of administration given in the Canons of Hippolytus are "This is the body of Christ," "This is the blood of Christ." To each the communicant replied "Amen." Similar formulae were used in Egypt.

The Sahidic Canons mention the thanksgiving and the blessing uttered by the bishop at the conclusion of the service.

Eucharistic Customs.

Both Tertullian and S. Cyprian show us that the Sacrament was sometimes reserved to be consumed privately at home. It was also reserved to be sent to the absent and the sick. This we learn from an instance at Alexandria about A.D. 250, when the sacrament was carried to a certain

Serapion who was in prison,[1] and from an instance at Rome in 257, where Tharsicius, a deacon, was captured while carrying the reserved sacrament.[2] The Holy Eucharist was offered to God to entreat for the happiness of departed souls, in accordance with the usual practice of prayer for those who have died in faith. Thus Tertullian says: "We offer oblations for the dead on the anniversary of their birth."[3] And S. Cyprian, in writing about the martyred relations of a man whom he has appointed to the office of reader, says: "You remember that we always offer sacrifices for them, as often as with annual commemoration we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs."[4] From the Canons of Hippolytus we gather that it was not the custom at Rome to celebrate this memorial of the departed "on the first day of the week."

The *Agapé*, or Love-feast, is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, by Tertullian, and the Canons of Hippolytus. The last-mentioned work implies that the regular love-feast will take place on Sunday evening at the time of the lighting of the lamps; a similar feast was held after "the mysteries" had been celebrated for the departed, and also for the benefit of the widows supported by the Church. Tertullian, in describing the love-feast, says, "As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. . . . After the washing of hands and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the Holy Scriptures or one of his own

The Agapé.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 44.

[2] Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*, part i. p. 153.

[3] *de Corona*, 3.

[4] *Ep.* 39.

composing. This is a proof of the extent of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so it is closed with prayer."

Service at Cockcrow.

The Christians of the apostolic age appear to have met for worship on Saturday night. In theory this service seems to have lasted all night, as its Greek name implies.[1] But as a rule Christians devoted to prayer only a period at the beginning of night when the lamps were lighted, and a period at cockcrow. The latter service was in some places held on Sundays, and in some places on other days also. Thus we find in the "Passion of S. Cyprian" that the people of Carthage were keeping a vigil on the night which preceded the martyrdom of their bishop, as if God had caused his "birthday" to be celebrated even before his birth into the other world had taken place. The Canons of Hippolytus show that there was a daily service in Rome at cockcrow. The clergy were obliged to come to it unless hindered by sickness or travelling. The service consisted of psalms, the reading of the Bible, and prayers.

Holy Baptism.

Christian baptism bore different titles fitting for a sacrament which is the "putting on Christ." In addition to the words which imply regeneration, we find such titles as the "illumination" and "the seal of the Son of God." The baptism of infants and children is implied definitely in S. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, and is ascribed definitely by Origen to "a tradition from the apostles."[2] Tertullian disliked infant baptism, and the baptism of unmarried persons generally, on the strange ground that they might have grave temptations to undergo

[1] Παννυχίς. [2] *Comment. in Ep. ad Rom.* lib. v. § 9.

before their character was fixed.[1] But he says nothing to make us suppose that he regarded infant baptism as an innovation. Godparents "who respond for infants," are mentioned in the Canons of Hippolytus and Tertullian.

Immediately before baptism the candidate, or the godparents, had to make a profession of faith in the form of answers to a brief creed, and a renunciation of the devil was required. Baptism was administered in the name of the Holy Trinity. The person baptised was either immersed in water, or water was poured upon his head. The latter method was necessary in the case of those who were baptised upon a bed of sickness. The case of the schismatic Novatian is important in this connection. He was baptised in bed, and Cornelius, bishop of Rome, did not deny the validity of this baptism, but objected that Novatian did not afterwards comply with the rule that those baptised in this way should afterwards be "signed by the bishop."[2] On stepping out of the font the candidate was anointed with oil which had been previously consecrated upon the altar at a celebration of the Eucharist.[3] The Canons of Hippolytus show that at Rome there was a twofold unction, one before and one after baptism. An attempt has been made to prove that these unctions were derived by the Catholics from heathen sources through the channel of Gnostic ceremonies. This is directly contradicted by Tertullian, who says, "The custom is derived from the old dispensation, in which men used to be anointed priests out of a horn, since the time when Aaron was anointed by Moses."[4]

[1] *de Bapt.* 18.
[2] Eus. *H.E.* vi. 43.
[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* 70.
[4] *de Bapt.* 7.

Immediately after baptism the candidates were clothed and taken into the church to receive the laying on of the bishop's hands in the rite of confirmation. They then received Holy Communion. Finally they were given milk and honey as having a double symbolism to teach the newly baptised that they are babes in Christ, and to remind them of the sweetness of the promised land.

Confirmation.

The sign of the cross was made frequently by the early Christians, both at baptisms and at other times.

The clergy and "many laymen" strongly objected to the ordination of Novatian, regarding him as disqualified, on the ground that though his baptism was valid, it was apparently received through fear of death. Fabian, the then bishop of Rome, had to request permission to dispense with this rule before ordaining him.

The high idea of baptism carried with it the necessity of careful preliminary instruction and probation. In great heathen cities it would have been as wrong as it would have been imprudent to administer baptism immediately after conversion. The Church had done this in apostolic days when converts were made among Jews and proselytes who had been previously trained in principles of sound morality. But now a "catechetical" system was developed. Tertullian blames the superficial training of catechumens among the heretics, and Origen says that while the philosophers address anyone indiscriminately, Christians test beforehand the souls of those who hear them. Out of these hearers they formed two classes—one for beginners, the other for those who had given proof of their intention to wish for nothing but what Christians approve. Catechumens

Catechumenate.

were instructed in the essential duties of faith and conduct, and those who desired baptism and were judged by the clergy to be fit for baptism were usually baptised on Easter Even or on the Eve of Pentecost. Converts might remain catechumens as long as they desired, and the Emperors Constantine and Constantius remained such until they were on their death-beds. And when the world poured into the Church this practice became a fruitful cause of evil, as men often postponed baptism until the last moment, that they might have their fill of worldly pleasures until death made a renunciation of those enjoyments inevitable.

So-called Disciplina Arcani.

With the institution of the Catechumenate we must connect a system to which modern writers have given the name of *Disciplina Arcani*. According to this system definite instruction about baptism and the Eucharist, and the words of the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, were kept secret. Some of these sacred matters were not imparted to the catechumens until just before their baptism, and the Eucharist was not explained until after baptism. The wide prevalence of this system led some Roman Catholic writers to imagine that it dates from apostolic times. And some have even imagined that this secrecy accounts for the fact that in early Church literature we find so little that seems to justify some mediæval doctrines and practices connected with the sacraments. These doctrines and practices were supposed to have been part of the life of the primitive Church, but part of its hidden life. On the other hand, some modern Protestants have been ready to suggest that the existence of the *Disciplina Arcani* points to an assimilation between Christian and pagan usage. It is regarded

as a mark of the "Hellenising" of the Church, and as the introduction of a "superstitious" view of the sacraments similar to the heathen views concerning the rites of Mithras.

Both these theories are exaggerated. Nothing is said about such a rule in the Church Orders which we have reviewed above. But at the same time it is clear from Tertullian, Origen, and later writers that at the beginning of the third century it was becoming the rule not to talk about certain of "the mysteries of God" before the catechumens, and also that they were dismissed before the most solemn part of the Eucharist. Justin Martyr had written quite plainly about the sacraments for the benefit of heathen readers, and neither Hermas nor Irenaeus speak of any secrecy. In fact, in the second century secrecy in religious teaching was regarded as a mark of either heresy or heathenism. S. Irenaeus reproaches the Gnostics with not teaching openly, and Tertullian compares the taciturnity of the Valentinians with that of worshippers at the Eleusinian mysteries. But the increasing number of those who pressed into the Church about A.D. 200 made it seem wiser not to teach everything openly in a public building. No law prohibited the writing down of the most sacred parts of the liturgy, as we find from the Latin Verona Fragments and from the Sacramentary of Serapion. Moreover, Origen wrote at length about the Eucharist, although he would not speak about it before the ignorant except in very brief terms. But the practice of not speaking unreservedly before the uninitiated already existed. Even Tertullian reproaches the heretics for admitting "catechumens" and "faithful" alike to their worship, and

Teaching imparted gradually.

with characteristic sarcasm says "even if heathens come in, the heretics will throw what is holy to the dogs, and to swine pearls, though imitation pearls."[1] And the Canons of Hippolytus lay down that "mysteries concerning life and resurrection and sacrifice are to be heard by baptised Christians only." Evidently the catechumens are to be excluded.

In fact, this method of reserve in teaching the mysteries of religion rose and declined in connection with the catechumenate. It was at its height near the beginning of the fifth century. It practically disappeared at the end of that century, when paganism was becoming extinct, and when adult baptisms were becoming rare in the great centres of civilisation. In spite of the fact that certain Fathers of the Church, and especially Clement of Alexandria, apply to Christian ceremonies the classical words used in the Greek mysteries, there is no reason for believing that the Christian method of initiation was borrowed from paganism.

[1] *de Praesc.* 41.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF DIOCLETIAN

DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284–305), the son of two slaves, and the commander of the "domestics," or body-guard of the short-lived Emperor Numerian, was chosen by the army to succeed his ill-fated master. In valour, dexterity, and dissimulation he was equally efficient, and he showed his ability by transforming the principate founded by Augustus into an absolute monarchy. He was not by nature a persecutor, and for no less than eighteen years of his rule the Christians were unmolested and made an increasing number of converts. His wife Prisca and his daughter Valeria were both Christians,[1] and Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Lucian, and Andrew, eunuchs of the imperial household, had also embraced the Christian religion. Christianity had seldom appeared to be so secure. And the lament uttered by Eusebius over the manners of the Christians is a proof that the security was so complete as to encourage a mundane ambition among the bishops and a lax life among the flocks committed to their charge. They were destined soon to experience a very rough awakening. Diocletian.

The political insight of Diocletian realised that the huge unwieldy empire of Rome needed consolidation.

[1] Lactantius, *de Morte pers.* 15.

To this work he devoted himself, and elaborated the absolutism which Aurelian had begun. For the purpose of strengthening the empire he surrounded himself with Persian pomp and ceremonial. He clothed himself with silk, he crowned his head with a diadem of pearls, and made access to his person as difficult as possible, in order to produce a sentiment of veneration in his subjects. But all this outward show was only the decoration of a vast military and political machinery. It was the intention of Diocletian to solve a double problem, viz. how to protect the Roman Empire from neighbouring enemies, and how to protect it from internal revolutions. Hitherto it had been possible to select able generals who should guard the Roman frontiers, but it was precisely these able generals who had created the class of successful usurpers. Diocletian determined to avoid this danger by associating with himself three colleagues in the exercise of imperial power, and to rule the empire by a method of combined centralisation and decentralisation. In 286 he commenced by sharing his own title of *Augustus* with his colleague Maximian, a rough and haughty soldier. In 293 he added two subordinate colleagues, with the title of *Caesar*, to be emperors in reserve. These were Galerius, whose character resembled that of Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus, whose life had been spent in camps, but who was of a mild and humane disposition. The whole empire was divided into four prefectures. The *East*, which included Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Antioch was kept by Diocletian; *Italy*, which included Africa, was kept by Maximian; *Illyricum*, which included the dangerous region of the Danube, was given to Galerius;

Military Absolutism.

Gaul, which included the present France, Britain, and Spain, was given to Constantius. Diocletian retained a certain primacy for himself, but the edicts of the emperors were issued with the authority of all. Notwithstanding these precautions, the new system of administration prepared for the perpetual separation of the Eastern and the Western portion of the empire, a separation which had a momentous effect on the future history of Christianity.

In the meantime the political action of Diocletian could not fail to have an effect upon his religious policy. The emperors, whether they wished it or not were compelled to appear as the concentration of the official religion of the empire. The worship of the emperor had for a long time been an important official bond of religious union among the different races that owned the sway of Rome, and it now received a stimulus from the heightened dignity of Diocletian. He and Maximian assumed respectively the titles of *Jovius* and *Herculius*, as if possessed of omniscient wisdom and invincible might, and the "salutation" which had sufficed for earlier emperors was replaced by "adoration." Closely connected with this adoration of the emperors was the worship of the sun-god Mithras, whose incarnation the emperors claimed to be. The new absolutism was essentially military, and Mithras was the favourite god of the soldiers and of Galerius.

Effect on Religion.

Connected with the elastic religion of Mithras was the revived pagan philosophy. The influence of Porphyry and his Syrian pupil Iamblichus was at its height. The older and more sceptical types of Greek and Roman

Philosophic revival.

philosophy were looked upon as impious and superficial, while Neo-Platonists eagerly supported the superstitions which the older Platonists ridiculed. Oracles were revived, mysteries were invented, sacrifices became popular, and philosophy appeared as the friend of priestcraft and the patron of miracles. It is not improbable that Galerius wished to found a State Church on these Neo-Platonic principles. It was in this circle that hatred of Christianity was most warmly fostered. And it was a member of this circle, Hierocles, governor of Bithynia, who, about 303, published his two books of *Truth-loving Arguments against the Christians* in which he maintained that Christ had been thrown into the shade by Apollonius of Tyana. Hierocles took an active part not only in a literary attack upon Christianity, but also in the persecution of the Christians.

In 297 Galerius secured the Eastern frontier of the empire by his victory over the Persians, and peace with honour was the result. The emperors were now free to give their attention to internal affairs. It is probable that to this year belongs the edict of Diocletian against the Manichaeans, in which he definitely lays down the principle that it is criminal in the highest degree "to retract what has once been laid down and defined by the ancients." Here, as often happens, the man who is an innovator in one department of political administration appears as a rigid conservative in another. And the principle here asserted against the Manichaeans was one which would tell with fatal effect upon the Christians. The Christians had not to wait very long for the storm to break. In 302, the year

Preludes of the Persecution.

when Diocletian and Maximian celebrated a public triumph in honour of their glorious reign, some Christian courtiers made the sign of the cross when present at the heathen ceremony of taking auspices.[1] The auspices were not propitious, and the failure was attributed to the presence of the Christians. It was immediately determined to cleanse the court and the army, the two great supports of the throne, from all taint of Christianity. Courtiers and soldiers were compelled either to offer sacrifice or to resign their posts.

Galerius spent the winter of 302 with Diocletian at Nicomedia, and egged on by his mother Romula and by the governor Hierocles, he persuaded Diocletian to summon a council to discuss the burning question. The council supported Galerius, and the oracle of Apollo at Miletus was so obliging as to give a religious sanction to their wishes. On February 23rd, 303, the first step was taken by destroying the magnificent church at Nicomedia. Immediately afterwards the first edict of persecution was published. It contained four orders: (1) Christian churches were to be destroyed. (2) Christian sacred books were to be burnt. (3) Christians were to be deprived of all civil rights and of any official position which they might hold, and Christian slaves deprived of all hope of obtaining freedom. (4) Christians holding any position at court, if they were obstinate in refusing to deny their faith, were threatened with slavery. Galerius had desired that any Christian who refused to sacrifice should be burnt alive. To this proposal Diocletian refused to give his consent. He

The First Edict.

[1] Lactantius, *de Morte pers.* 10.

wished the persecution to be "without blood," and not to stir up more opposition than necessary. It was his plan to reduce Christianity to impotence and insignificance by depriving it of all aristocratic support, all scriptures, and all places of worship.

If Diocletian hoped that the persecution would proceed quietly he was soon undeceived. The edict had hardly been posted up in Nicomedia before it was torn in pieces by an adventurous Christian, who was punished by being roasted to death at a slow fire. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia was twice in flames. Diocletian was frightened; he suspected the Christians, and executed a number of court officials with hideous tortures.[1] Some revolutionary outbreaks in Syria and Cappadocia were also attributed to Christian fanaticism. Diocletian, therefore, in April, 303, issued a second edict by which the governors of provinces were directed to arrest all ecclesiastics, and the prisons were soon crowded with bishops, presbyters, deacons, and readers. The third edict, in the same year, directed that magistrates should employ every severity to compel the clergy to offer sacrifice. The magistrates were allowed to punish obstinacy with death, and many martyrdoms took place.

The Second Edict.

The Third Edict.

In November, 303, the two *Augusti* appear to have celebrated their *Vicennalia*, a jubilee commemorating the twentieth year of their reign. The amnesty which was customary on such occasions granted the Christians a brief respite. But the persecution soon began again, as we find from the martyrdom of Saturninus in Africa

[1] Eus., *H.E.* viii. 6.

on February 12th, 304. And in March, 304, the fourth and sharpest edict was published, directing that all Christians in any place must offer libations and sacrifices to the gods. This edict was the work of Galerius and Maximian, for Diocletian had retired from political life to plant gardens in his native province of Dalmatia; and in 305, Maximian and Diocletian formally divested themselves of the imperial purple.

The Fourth Edict.

The abdication of the two Augusti was followed by eighteen years of discord. In accordance with the new constitution their places were filled by the two Caesars, Constantius and Galerius. Two new Caesars were required to fill their places, and the persons chosen were Severus for the West, and Maximinus Daza for the East, two men who were apparently chosen in order to promote, not the interests of the empire, but the ambitious schemes of Galerius.

The Church in the Civil Wars.

In the East, which remained under Galerius and his nephew Maximinus Daza, persecution raged until 311. So long as Galerius was a Caesar in Illyricum he could not find any considerable number of martyrs, but he was now able to indulge his sanguinary desires to the fullest extent. Maximinus, who ruled over Syria and Egypt, opened his reign by renewing the fourth edict in an even stronger form, and in Asia Minor Galerius showed a cruelty which has been equalled in our own day by the Turkish massacres of Armenian Christians. The soldiers of Galerius in Phrygia, like the Moslems at Urfah in 1895, distinguished themselves by burning a church filled with Christian people. Maximinus devised awful

The Church in the East.

tortures, such as the cutting out of the tongues of his victims or the putting out of their eyes. And in 308, uncle and nephew issued a joint edict intended to bring all Christians into inevitable contact with idolatrous rites by ordering all food in the markets to be sprinkled with wine or water that had been offered to idols. Among the martyrs of this persecution were Pamphilus, the learned friend of Eusebius, who died in 309, and the bishop of Gaza, who died in 310.

The Church in the West.

In the West, the Church was far more fortunate. Constantius, who had sincerely esteemed the Christians, and protected their persons even when he had consented to the destruction of their churches, died in 306 at York. His soldiers immediately placed themselves under the authority of his son Constantine. Galerius gave him the title of Caesar and made Severus the new Augustus. Immediately afterwards, a son of Maximian, named Maxentius, rose in revolt against Severus, and with the help of the praetorian guards gained possession of Rome. Severus committed suicide by opening his own veins. The West was therefore left in the hands of two rulers, Constantine whose whole training disposed him to be friendly towards the Christians, and Maxentius who wished to strengthen his popularity by a reputation for mildness. The Church in the West therefore enjoyed peace after 305. Galerius, however, was incensed at the death of Severus, and after an ineffectual invasion of Italy for the purpose of punishing the Romans, he consoled himself by appointing a personal friend, Licinius, as his colleague, A.D. 307. For the first and the last time the empire was governed by six emperors.

The problem slowly solved itself. The aged and

crafty Maximian endeavoured to recover his old authority after feigning to abdicate. He was betrayed by the garrison of Marseilles and strangled himself with his own hands, A.D. 310. Galerius was scarcely less fortunate. Stricken by an awful disease, his body slowly mortifying long before life was extinct, he realised the futility of the persecution which he had conducted. And on April 30th, 311, he issued in his own name and those of Licinius and Constantine, a formal edict of toleration allowing the Christians "freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molestation." Then, in words which show how the tyrant had been at last humbled by the action of God, he added, "we hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic."

Edict of Toleration, A.D. 311.

The name of Maximinus had not been with those of the other emperors in the preamble to this edict. But he affected to agree with its principles, and his praetorian prefect, Sabinus, issued a letter to all governors and magistrates ordering the cessation of persecution. Maximinus, however, was only masquerading. He was a bigoted pagan and determined to renew the persecution of the Christians at the first opportunity. Galerius was dead and the other emperors seemed favourable to Christianity, and unfavourable to the desire of Maximinus to rule the whole Eastern Empire. In the autumn of 311, he prepared to champion the cause of heathenism. Heathen temples were repaired, the pagan hierarchy was carefully organised in imitation

Renewal of Persecution, A.D. 312.

of that of the Christian Church. Christians were forbidden the use of cemeteries. City magistrates were encouraged to present petitions praying for the banishment or other repression of the Christians. These requests and the gracious assent of the emperor were engraved on public memorial tablets, one of which was found at Arycanda in 1893. Among the martyrs who perished were Peter of Alexandria, Lucian of Antioch, and Methodius of Olympus. In order to bring Christianity into greater contempt the *Acts of Pilate*, a forgery filled with the grossest slanders about the Passion of Christ, was introduced as a reading-book in the public schools.

In the meantime the indolent and profligate Maxentius avowed his pretensions to be monarch of the whole West. Constantine, having secured the neutrality of Licinius, crossed the Alps in 312 and routed Maxentius at the Milvian bridge near Rome. A few months afterwards Constantine held a conference with Licinius at Milan, and the two emperors issued a solemn edict of toleration. It provided that all the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been deprived should be restored. Buildings and lands were to be given back to the Christian Church, and Christians and all others were to be allowed to follow the religion which they thought best. The edict includes expressions of piety which show a desire to propitiate God, as well as to consult the peace of the empire. Any ambiguity and any grudging tone which might be found in the edict of 311 has now disappeared, and the Christian Church is raised from a position of toleration to a position of equality with the established pagan religion.

Edict of Milan, A.D. 313.

The defeat of Maximinus near Hadrianople by Licinius in 313, and an edict of toleration which he issued shortly before his death in that year, left Christianity as a recognised religion throughout the Empire.

Among the martyrs of the Diocletian persecution there are some whose names acquired a special interest for the Church of later times. S. Alban, who is usually reckoned as the proto-martyr of Britain, died at Verulam near S. Albans, according to the account of Gildas and Bede. Two other martyrs died at Caerleon. There seems to be no adequate reason for distrusting these stories, though such martydoms must have been rare in Britain under the mild rule of Constantius Chlorus. In Switzerland a very old tradition relates that Maximian allowed the whole "Theban legion," with its commander S. Maurice, to be cut down in the pass of Agaunum by the Gauls. But the story has been transplanted, for S. Maurice appears to have really suffered with seventy soldiers at Apamea in Syria. Another popular soldier-saint was Theodore, a recruit who died at Amasea in Pontus. After he was apprehended, and before his trial, he set fire to a temple of the Mother of the gods, which was burnt to ashes. Among the martyrs of Rome must be mentioned Adauctus, treasurer of the private demesnes, who was one of the few persons of rank who suffered at this time. The old feeling that military service was incompatible with the Christian profession is shown in the story of Maximilianus, a recruit who died for refusing to embrace the profession of a soldier, and in the story of Marcellus, a centurion at Tangier, who, on the day of a public festival, threw away his arms and said that he would obey none but Jesus Christ.

The Martyrs.

The Lapsed. Once more the question as to treatment of the Christians who had denied the faith during persecution disturbed the inner peace of the persecuted Church. The old opposition between a lax and a rigorous party again appeared. Three schisms were the result.

In Rome. In Rome the Bishop Marcellus (307–309) attempted to impose a severe penance on all Christians who had lapsed, but the opposition was so strong, and the feeling displayed was so violent, that Maxentius banished the bishop. His successor, Eusebius, was equally strict, and a certain Heraclius headed a schism against him. Maxentius then exiled both the rivals. The next bishop, Miltiades (or Melchiades) restored peace, probably by yielding to the wishes of the laxer party.

In Egypt. In Egypt a much more formidable schism arose. Peter, bishop of Alexandria, offered, in 306, conciliatory terms to the lapsed, and gave further occasion for the opposition of the rigorist party by his own flight from Alexandria. Hereupon Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, usurped the metropolitan rights of the bishop of Alexandria by ordaining in other dioceses than his own, and by attempting to secure the adhesion of the clergy of Alexandria. Peter wrote to warn his Church, and held a synod which excommunicated Meletius. This excommunication, and the brave martyrdom of Peter himself in 311, put the Meletians obviously in the wrong. But they succeeded in planting bishoprics in most of the cities of Egypt except Alexandria itself. At the Council of Nicaea in 325 Meletius and many of his party were reconciled, but others persisted in their schism, and joined the Arians in their opposi-

tion to Athanasius, the best and greatest prelate of Alexandria.[1]

It was hardly to be expected that Africa, the home of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, would not be agitated by a great question of Church discipline. The agitation began during the persecution of A.D. 303–305. Bishop Mensurius of Carthage and his presbyter, Caecilian, opposed the extravagant veneration paid to martyrs and the practice of those who needlessly challenged martyrdom. In Africa many Christians obeyed the order to give up their sacred books to the heathen authorities, and when they protested that they had not "lapsed," their stricter brethren replied, "No, but you are nevertheless disloyal to Christ; you are traitors" (*traditores*). The name became a by-word in Africa, and it was contrasted with the honoured name of the "confessors" who had refused to give up their Scriptures to the heathen and suffered the penalty of their refusal. Mensurius was not only blamed for want of sympathy with the more ardent confessors, but was even accused of having given up some sacred books and then pretending that he only gave up some books of an heretical character. A party formed itself against him, led by Donatus, bishop of Casae Nigrae in Numidia. The controversy then became complicated by a new factor, viz. that of episcopal jurisdiction. For Numidia lay outside the province of which Carthage was the capital, and nevertheless Carthage had long been regarded as holding an undefined primacy over all the adjacent provinces.

In Africa.

Donatus.

[1] For the Meletians in Egypt see Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, iv. p. 91; Ath. *Apol.* c. *Ar.* 59; *Hist. Ar.* 78; Epiph. *Haer.* 68; Sozom. *H.E.* i. 23.

In 311 Mensurius died. Caecilian was chosen to succeed him by the request of the whole Carthaginian laity, and consecrated by the bishops of neighbouring towns, including Felix of Aptunga. The malcontents of the diocese called to their aid certain Numidian bishops, declared that Felix was a "traditor," and that Caecilian's consecration was therefore invalid. The Numidians then consecrated as bishop Majorinus, a "reader" attached to the household of Lucilla, an enthusiastic lady who had a personal quarrel with Caecilian because he had rebuked her for the habit of kissing the bone of a martyr before she received the Eucharist. Seventy bishops attached themselves to Majorinus, and thus the great African Church began to be plagued with its "running sore," Donatism.

CHAPTER XVII

CONSTANTINE, PAGANISM, AND DONATISM

THE reign of Constantine meant a new era for the Christian Church. Hitherto the Church had been beaten and buffeted, occasionally allowed to exist, and then attacked with more cruelty than before. It was treated as a mediæval criminal was treated, first tortured, then permitted to revive in order that the judge might ask new questions, and then tortured afresh. The Church had survived the torture. It still probably claimed the adherence of only a small minority of the people of the entire empire, but it was notably strong in the great cities and in many of the eastern parts of the empire. The empire may be divided into four different categories according to the proportion of Christians to the entire population.

Extension of Christianity, c. A.D. 320.

1. Regions where the Christians numbered half or more than half of the population. These were Asia Minor, Armenia, the region of Edessa, Thrace. Many districts and cities were probably entirely Christian.

2. Regions where the Christians were sufficiently numerous and cultured to form a very important and formidable minority. These regions included Antioch and Coele Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, Rome, and the southern

half of Italy, proconsular Africa and Numidia, the coasts of Greece, Spain, and the southern coast of France.

3. Regions where the Christians were still weak in numbers and influence. These regions included Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia, part of Mesopotamia, the inland parts of Greece, Macedonia, Mœsia, Pannonia, the northern half of Italy, Mauretania, and Tripolitana.

4. Regions where the Christians were very few. These regions included the towns of Philistia, such as Ashkelon and Gaza, the latter of which had no Christian church before 325. We must add the north and north-west coasts of the Black Sea and the west part of North Italy. The dioceses of northern Italy were much larger and fewer than those in southern Italy. Ravenna probably had its first bishop about 200, and Milan about 240. In the time of Diocletian there were Christians at Bologna. The middle and the north of France, Belgium, Germany, and Rhaetia had very few Christians, and Great Britain probably had very few also.

The Church International.

In conclusion we may note that the Catholic Church was more Eastern than Western, and more Greek than Roman. The Greek influence on Western Christendom was everywhere apparent, and can be traced both in theology and in ritual. Yet the Church was thoroughly international, and its international character and admirable organisation meant that even in those parts of the empire where the Christians were few, Christianity was not necessarily weak. In many places the Church was the dominant power, and where it was not yet dominant a shrewd politician could easily guess that it might soon be of great importance. The Christian Church, instead

of being a means of disunion and disintegration in the State, might prove to be a most salutary bond of union. Constantine had enough acuteness and enough sympathy to see this, and he had enough authority, not exactly to transform the Catholic Church into a State Church, but to shatter the laws which stood in the way of this transformation.

Of the character of Constantine we possess three widely different representations. The first is that painted by the Christian historians, among whom is Eusebius of Caesarea, who knew him well, and describes his hero with grateful flattery, but also with real historical knowledge. The second representation is that of the pagans. Of these the historian Zosimus is the most violent, though the Emperor Julian, "the Apostate," is hardly less spiteful, while Eutropius is the most just. The third representation is that of Christian legend, in which Constantine became decorated with the attributes of a saint. In the Greek Church he was given the title of "equal to the apostles." In the Roman Church he was said to have been baptised by Silvester, bishop of Rome, as he is depicted on the walls of the Vatican. And, more important than all, it was said that he made the "Donation of Constantine," an audacious forgery composed about 774, and composed probably in the Pope's own palace of the Lateran,[1] to say that Constantine ceded to Silvester "Rome and all the provinces of Italy." And thus Constantine became the supposed originator of that "temporal power" of the Pope which is a burning question in Italy to-day.

Portraits of Constantine.

The real Constantine was a man brave, indefatigable,

[1] So Mgr. Duchesne, *Les Premiers Temps de l'État Pontifical*, p. 91.

and ambitious, a man who would deserve the title "Great" if it were only for his astonishing comprehension of the age in which he lived. He had a sincere respect for Christianity. He believed in its Monotheism, and he wished to extend its moral influence. His interest in it was not that of a well-disciplined saint, but of an ill-trained philosopher; he regarded it as a law rather than a faith. He was lavish towards his friends, chaste in life, fond of his own rhetoric, and not without a saving sense of humour. He was occasionally passionate and cruel, and he became extremely vain. His vanity increased with years until his jewelry and his wigs rivalled the subsequent splendours of our Queen Elizabeth. And like many persons of his age who were convinced of the truth of Christianity, he deferred his baptism until he was at the doors of death, when he received the washing of regeneration from the hands of the time-serving and heretical prelate, Eusebius of Nicomedia. The fact that Constantine deferred his baptism almost to the last moment does not imply that he had until that moment been in a state of religious doubt. It was a common habit, due to a desire of dying without any stain of post-baptismal sin, and also, as S. Chrysostom shows, to the less worthy desire of tasting all the pleasures of this world before tasting "the heavenly gift."

The real Constantine.

Constantine was born at Nisch in Servia about 274, and when a lad was sent to the Court of Diocletian as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, Constantius Chlorus. He accompanied Diocletian on a military expedition in 296, and must have witnessed under his very eyes the

Constantine's Early Life.

outbreak of Diocletian's terrible persecution. When Diocletian died, Galerius tried to keep Constantine under his own control. The latter had the sense to remain either with Galerius or with his father, and when Constantius Chlorus died at York in 306, he confined himself to strengthening his power in the Western provinces. Of his first attitude towards religion we know very little. But his father, though not a Christian, believed in one supreme God, was a man of strict honour, and treated the Christians with favour. Constantine seems to have followed in his father's steps, and to have received some additional impulse towards Christianity from Hosius of Cordova or other Christian bishops of the West. When Galerius, in 311, issued his edict granting toleration to the Christians, the names of Licinius and Constantine were affixed to that of the dying and remorseful persecutor.

Soon after the Edict of Milan in 313 we find the Roman world divided between Constantine and Licinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the latter of the East. The perfidy of Licinius seems to have prompted him to conspire against his colleague. War was the result, and it left Constantine in possession of three-fourths of the empire, and Licinius in possession only of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. A second civil war was declared between them in 323. It is now necessary to consider Constantine's religious policy during the ten intervening years.

External Welfare of the Church.

The external welfare of the Church from 313 to 323 may be defined as comprised in the equality which was granted to the Church by legislation and in the special favour shown to it by the emperor personally. Constantine was far too

clear-sighted to do anything to provoke a pagan reaction, a reaction which might be more dangerous to the State than the disorders caused by the recent persecutions. Many of the features of his policy admit of different interpretations, and we must content ourselves with saying that his attitude towards paganism was the attitude of a great statesman who expected and desired that Christianity might ultimately be the only religion of the empire. When he marched against Maxentius he had the support of the Christians, and Eusebius says that Constantine declared to him on oath that while on this march he saw a cross appear above the setting sun with the words BY THIS CONQUER.[1] Lactantius[2] gives a less marvellous account, only recording a dream in which Constantine was warned to inscribe the "heavenly sign" on the shields of his soldiers. Eusebius mentions a similar dream. Whatever the truth of the story may be, it is at least certain that after the victory over Maxentius Constantine erected at Rome a statue of himself with a cross in his right hand.

The Edict of Milan had secured the peace and the revenues of the Church, and in the place of wayward and occasional toleration the Christians now enjoyed the position of persons who were members of a strictly lawful association and possessed full legal rights. The following measures were now taken by Constantine to put Christianity on a level with the old religion and to assure Christians of the protection of the law. In 313 the Catholic clergy were freed from all State burdens, all the municipal duties which required the service of their persons or their property, and about the same

[1] *Vita Const.* 1, 28 ff. [2] *de Morte pers.* 44.

date they were freed from the necessity of paying *tributum* and *annona*, taxation in money and in kind. These immunities assumed that the clergy rendered services to the State in lieu of work and money. Liberal gifts were also made by Constantine to the clergy, and large sums were set apart for charitable purposes. In 321 wills were permitted to be made in favour of the Catholic Church, so that the faithful were at liberty to bequeath their fortunes for the cause of promoting Christianity. In 315 a law was passed to check the hostility of the Jews towards Christians, and in 323 it was forbidden to force Christians to take part in pagan celebrations. These laws were far more significant then than similar laws would be at the present day, for they shivered in pieces the ancient conception of religion. The mere fact that the Christian religion was recognised and privileged by the State in this fashion was a renunciation of the old belief that a loyal citizen of the Roman empire must necessarily worship the gods of Rome. This legislation showed not merely a broader view of religion than had been hitherto taken by a state, but an absolutely different view.

Constantine still countenanced paganism, and did not abolish the customs of the old State religion. As late as 321 it was enacted that if lightning struck a public building, the *haruspices* should be publicly consulted. Private consultation was, however, forbidden. And in 319 it was forbidden to offer sacrifices in private houses. It is plain that the distrust which previous rulers had felt towards Christianity was now transferred to paganism; "the offices of the ancient use" were only to be permitted

Paganism.

"in full daylight." Between 315 and 323 definitely pagan emblems disappeared from the coinage, and the emperor, though he retained the pagan title of "pontifex maximus," showed no real sympathy for heathenism.

Public Morality.

His enactments with regard to public morality showed a strong sympathy with Christian teaching, though some of them were also supported by the consciences of enlightened pagans. He definitely took the side of the oppressed and the helpless. He abolished the punishment of crucifixion. He exerted himself to prevent the practice of exposing or murdering newborn infants, directing that relief should be given to those parents who should bring to the magistrates the children whom they were too poor to rear. His laws against unchastity were so strict that it is to be feared that they defeated their own object by enlisting the sympathy of the magistrates in favour of the culprits. In 316 he forbade the practice of branding criminals on their face, inasmuch as the face is made "after the similitude of the heavenly beauty." In 320 the laws against celibacy, which had been previously enacted in order to promote the growth of the Roman birth-rate, were relaxed in favour of those Christians who desired to lead an ascetic life. In 321 all legal business was forbidden on Sundays, and it was permitted to set slaves free in a church in the presence of the congregation. And lastly, the bishops were allowed important legal prerogatives. They were permitted to hold their own courts, and their decisions were ratified by a positive law. The secular judges were instructed to execute the episcopal decrees, whose validity had hitherto depended on the consent of the contending parties.

The humiliation which Licinius endured in 314 rankled in his breast, and the more definitely Constantine identified himself with the Christians, the more Licinius felt embittered against them. Synods were held at Ancyra and Neo-Caesarea in 314, which reminded Licinius of the growing influence of the Church, and the great controversy which will be described in our next chapter probably increased his irritation. About 322 he embraced the resolution to persecute. He forbade the assembly of synods and the visitation of prisoners by Christians, and then prohibited public worship within the cities of his dominions. He began to expel Christians from his court and his army, bishops were banished, and actual martyrdoms took place at Amasea and at Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, where forty Christians were put to death. The testament of these martyrs gives valuable evidence as to the wide extent of Christianity in this region.

Final defeat of Licinius.

The cause of Constantine and the cause of Christianity were now identified. His campaign took the character of a crusade; the *labarum*[1] was his standard; bishops marched with his army, and an oratory, fashioned like a tent, accompanied his advance. The army of Licinius was beaten at Hadrianople; his navy was shattered in the Bosphorus, and his remaining forces, after a desperate struggle, were defeated at Chrysopolis, A.D. 323. The immediate results were the universal security of Christianity and the foundation of a Christian capital, Constantinople.

Constantine was now the sole ruler of a superb

[1] The *labarum* was a flag bearing the Greek monogram of Christ. The word is of uncertain origin.

Autocracy and Theocracy.

empire, and he naturally applied to the East the religious policy which he had already applied to the West. The Christians banished by Licinius were recalled, and confiscated Christian property was restored. The principles of toleration laid down in 313 are once more asserted in an edict, but the tone of official neutrality has disappeared. The emperor says that it is his greatest desire to see all his subjects embrace Christianity. While he respects the freedom of the heathens, he deplores their "obstinacy," and while he allows them to practise their own ceremonies, he calls them "ceremonies of error." There can be no doubt that a profound impression was created by the success which had attended the arms of a potentate who had openly proclaimed himself as the champion of the cross. The claim of Christianity to be a universal religion seemed to harmonise with the majesty of an empire which included almost all the then known world. And Constantine, in writing to Sapor, King of Persia, whose attack upon the Roman frontiers was suspended by the fear of the great emperor, spoke with satisfaction of the presence of Christians in Persia, and commended them to Sapor in words which suggested that they were under his own protectorate.[1] Paganism, indeed, was still tolerated; but the immorality which in the East had from time immemorial been consecrated as part of the worship of particular deities was suppressed at Aphaca, Heliopolis, and Ægae. Even the official Roman sacrifices were diminished, and a prayer of a monotheistic character was issued for the use of pagan soldiers. When the people of Hispellum asked to be allowed

[1] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv. 8, 13.

to erect a temple in honour of his family, Constantine laid down conditions which made the temple practically a town-hall. Legislation made still further progress in a Christian direction. In the East gladiatorial shows were prohibited in 325, though the West was not yet ripe for such a curtailment of popular diversions. And in 326 it was forbidden that a married man should have a concubine. Christian art was promoted by the sumptuous architecture of the churches built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, at Bethlehem, and the Mount of Olives, rivalling the great basilicas built at Rome over the graves of S. Peter and S. Paul, and beautiful manuscripts of the Bible were written for the fourteen churches of Constantinople. Here it was that Constantine succeeded in building a "New Rome," set free from those traditions which bound the aristocracy of Rome to their ancestral faith. Accessible to all the world, and almost impregnable against attack, Constantinople seemed at once the emblem and the home of the Church of Christ. Here Constantine could combine autocracy with theocracy, and pose as the κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος, and ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτός, the "general bishop" and "bishop for the external relations of the Church"[1] (Eus. *Vita Const.* I. 44; IV. 24).

The great problem in the internal affairs of Christianity between 314 and 321 was the contention between the Catholics and the Donatists. In this contention Constantine was almost bound to interfere. The great privileges which he had granted to the Church would hardly have been granted unless Constantine had expected to receive some authority in Church affairs. And, indeed,

Constantine and Donatism.

[1] Translated by some "bishop of those outside the Church."

it is probable that quite early in his reign he appointed Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to be the head of an informal department for the settlement of ecclesiastical questions.

While he was prefect of Gaul he had been influenced by the unity of the Catholic Church, but when he acquired possession of Africa after the death of Maxentius, he found a country which was predominantly Christian torn by religious discord. The Catholic Churches beyond the sea everywhere recognised Caecilian as bishop of Carthage, but a large and passionate sect maintained that the true bishop was Majorinus. Early in 313 Constantine sent gifts to be distributed by Caecilian among his clergy, and ignored the schismatics. The latter were annoyed, and appealed to the emperor to appoint judges from Gaul to consider their claims. The appeal was to decide facts and not doctrine, and the case involved civil rights. It was therefore in itself a justifiable appeal. Constantine found himself in the position of a supreme judge over ecclesiastical persons, and he made three separate endeavours to solve the difficulty.

(1) He first hoped to end the dispute by utilising the great authority of the bishop of Rome (Melchiades), assisted by three bishops of Gaul and fifteen of Italy. Caecilian had to appear with ten of his own bishops and ten of the opposing party. A fair investigation took place, and Caecilian was entirely acquitted of the various charges brought against him by Donatus. Melchiades wished to settle the matter by an amicable compromise, and suggested that where there were two rival bishops, the one who was first consecrated should hold the see. The proposal

Hearing at Rome.

was one of extraordinary moderation when we remember that Melchiades was the head of a Church which had definitely upheld the validity of a sacrament administered by men guilty of heresy, and was therefore logically bound to uphold the validity of a consecration performed by Felix, even if that bishop had really been guilty of betraying the scriptures.

(2) The schismatics renewed their complaints, and Constantine determined to call what S. Augustine describes as "a plenary Council of the universal Church." The Council met at Arles in Gaul on August 1st, 314. The letter of this synod includes the names of thirty-three bishops, among whom are those of the bishops of York, London, and (?) Caerleon. Silvester, bishop of Rome, sent two priests as deputies. Caecilian's case was examined, and he was declared guiltless. Several canons were drawn up, dealing with various difficulties of Church life, and canons 8 and 13 bore upon the Donatist controversy. The first asserts the validity of baptism administered by heretics, thereby indirectly attacking the Donatist theory that the unworthiness of the minister hinders the efficacy of the sacraments. The other asserts the validity of the consecration of a bishop even if it be performed by a *traditor*, and declares that only open acts should be taken as proofs that a suspected man is a *traditor*.

Council of Arles.

(3) The Donatists were still discontented, and demanded the personal decision of the emperor. About the time of the Council of Arles, Ælianus, the proconsul of Africa, had already conducted an official inquiry into the alleged "treachery" of Felix, with the result that Felix was

Decision at Milan.

fully acquitted. But the Donatists carried the matter to the emperor in Rome. The result, as shown by his own letter to Eumelius, vicarius of Africa, was that Constantine personally undertook an inquiry at Rome, whither he summoned the heads of both parties. He finished his inquiry at Milan in November, 316, and decided in favour of Caecilian.

The Donatists had therefore, by their own action in refusing all compromise and insisting on the emperor's personal decision, put themselves into the position of rebels. They had not been content that Constantine should direct their case to be decided by an ecclesiastical court, but had insisted upon the decision of the head of the State. He decided that the facts were against them; Felix was not a *traditor*. They refused to accept his decision. Was he, or was he not, to punish them for their obstinacy? Was he to give the Donatists the chance of saying that the Catholic Church corresponded with the pagan established religion of Diocletian's time, and the Donatists with the Church of the martyrs? He might well hesitate. And though at first he condemned certain Donatists to exile, when he saw that the schism did not spread outside Africa he allowed the Donatist bishops to return and Donatist churches to be built.

The controversy had undoubtedly a great effect upon Constantine. It made him acquainted with the influence and the machinery of the Catholic Church, and made him feel that the interests of the empire and of Catholicism were closely intertwined.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONSTANTINE AND ARIANISM

WE must now consider the great controversy between Catholicism and Arianism, which has made the reign of Constantine doubly memorable in the history of the Church. That the emperor should do his utmost to strengthen the unity and the organisation of the Church was an inevitable corollary of his policy. He dealt with Donatism, the problem of Western Christianity, a problem of Church discipline. And then he found himself compelled to deal with Arianism, the problem of Eastern Christianity, a problem of Church doctrine. The Christians of Latin speech had seldom been greatly troubled about questions of doctrine and speculation, and they had remained content with a short creed, dating from the apostolic age, and enlarged only with a few necessary additions intended to preserve its original meaning. In the East speculation had been far more rife, and at the beginning of the fourth century various local Churches had creeds which contained new statements, intended to safeguard some truth or exclude some error. These additional statements were chiefly concerned with the honour of the Founder of Christianity, whom all members of the Church adored.

Constantine and Doctrine.

That the titles applied to Jesus Christ and the exact meanings of these titles should both be discussed so eagerly and so minutely has appeared to some superficial modern writers only a melancholy instance of theological hair-splitting. This is a shallow, narrow estimate. For Christianity had been placed by Constantine in a position which gave it a chance of becoming the universal religion of mankind, and learned, cultivated men regarded it with keen and serious interest. It was necessary for them to ask whether Christianity could, or could not, reasonably claim to be this "Catholic" or universal faith. If it was strictly true that in Christ dwells "the fulness of the Godhead bodily," as S. Paul had said, if the Person of the Man of sorrows is, as S. John had said, identical with that Logos who is both the Creator of the world and the Light of human reason, then the claim of Christianity to be the universal religion was at once justified. If, on the other hand, Christ was only the highest of created beings of whom man had any knowledge, and the language of the apostles was only a series of ornamental metaphors, the whole situation was changed, and no real barrier had been erected against the heathen worship of heroes and demigods.

The question vital for the Empire.

There could be no doubt as to which of these two alternatives would be maintained by the people who had really grasped the nature of Christianity. Everyone who was sure that "in Christ" he had found "God reconciling us unto himself," everyone who knew that he who hath seen Jesus "hath seen the Father," would be able to give to the heathen inquirer an intellectual reason for

The question vital for Religion.

repudiating heathenism. He would also know that the imitation of Christ and His life of self-renunciation, is a life that is "rational," a life guided by the divine Logos or Reason. Monotheism was not menaced, and at the same time morality was secured by the fact that the deepest love and lowliest worship could be given to One who had led the perfect human life. Moreover, the Greek mind, even in its unregenerate state, had a craving for immortality. The Greeks were attracted by the idea of becoming "partakers of the divine nature." And Christianity offered them the sublime doctrine that One who is not a mere hero or prophet, but is God himself, and therefore possesses eternal life, became man, and consequently possesses eternal life in such a way that He can fitly impart it to mankind. The divine life through the action of the Holy Spirit enters into our mortal life and transforms it, and gives it a life which physical death cannot really interrupt. This is what the better minds of Eastern Christendom realised, perceiving that Christianity was meaningless apart from the Godhead of Christ, and that the Godhead of Christ necessarily implied an eternal Trinity in Unity. But within the Church there had formed, half unconsciously, schools of thought which did not grasp the truth. The theologians of the time may therefore be divided into the following classes:—

Schools of thought.

(*a*) The Lucianists, or school influenced by Lucian of Antioch, who was profoundly influenced by the Unitarian Paul of Samosata. First among this party was Arius, an elderly and ascetic parish priest at Alexandria, and the author of the controversy. Among his supporters must be mentioned Eusebius of Nico-

media, the most wily and most worldly of the Arians; Eusebius of Emesa, an elegant learned writer whom Jerome calls the "standard-bearer of the Arian party"; and the ex-sophist Asterius. Roughly speaking, we may call Antioch the home of Arian doctrine; it was the place where Lucian had taught, and where his pupils imbibed his literal method of interpreting Scripture, an impatience of mystery, and forms of disputation derived from the philosophy of Aristotle.

That the historical and literal method of interpreting the Bible did not, when rightly employed, lead to Arianism, is shown by Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, an orthodox prelate of high character who wrote vigorously against Origen and Arianism.

(*b*) Among the opponents of Eustathius was Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, a city which had been, after Alexandria, the principal scene of Origen's activity. Eusebius was first and foremost a scholar-bishop, with the characteristic virtues and faults of a man of letters. He was hard-working and he was cautious. His writings were voluminous, and included many works on the Bible, a Defence of Christianity against the heathen critic Porphyry, a Defence of Origen, and an invaluable History of the Church. His fulsome admiration for Constantine may perhaps be pardoned, for it was probably more sincere than many more extravagant compliments addressed to less worthy men. But his attitude in religious matters is indefensible. His own theology was a modified Origenism, and though he had a leaning towards those statements of Origen which insisted upon the dependence of the Son of God upon the Father, his language is usually capable of an orthodox explanation. But

"his acts are his confession." He never dissociated himself from the Arian party nor ever used his influential voice to show any disapproval of their unscrupulous intrigues, except when the Arians seemed to be the losing side.

(*c*) There were the theologians who in the true and complete sense of the word deserved the title Catholic. This class was best represented at Alexandria in the person of its bishop, Alexander, and his great successor, S. Athanasius. They were the leaders who saw what the Church had always implicitly believed concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, and anticipated what its final decision in the controversy must be. If we investigate the history of this school of theology we shall find that in it the essentially Christian elements which had existed in the older and too speculative theology of Alexandria were combined with the devout traditional theology which the Christian writers of Asia Minor had inherited from S. John. This new Alexandrian theology, which was not really a new theology, but was an intelligent assertion of the teaching of S. Paul, S. John, S. Ignatius, S. Irenaeus, and S. Methodius, was well supported by the quiet orthodoxy of Western Christendom. Hosius, the aged bishop of Cordova, whom Athanasius himself honours with the name of "Great," was one of those who testified that antiquity was on the side of Catholicism. But no Western theologian of first-rate eminence arose to deal with the controversy until S. Hilary of Poitiers in the middle of this century. Hilary was the Athanasius of the West; but it was the original Athanasius who bore the brunt of the fray, and, under God, won the victory after a fight of fifty years.

S. Athanasius.

Athanasius is one of those great saints who need no panegyric except the record of their work. The history of the Arian controversy is the history of his life, because his love of the Incarnate Word explains both his theology, his sufferings, and his antipathies, and it is that kind of love which the Arians did not understand and would not tolerate. Athanasius, in one sense, was not an original theologian. But his theology can be appreciated by every Christian who sincerely believes that not only every individual character, but also every separate race, has some special aptitudes which it can consecrate to Christ, and in so doing can salute in Christ something akin to itself. His writings presented to the world Greek Christianity in one of its fullest and purest forms. And while he drew from the treasure-house of earlier Christian writings, his own faith and knowledge gave a new brilliance and grace to the treasures that he borrowed. So far as there is anything distinctive in his teaching, it is to be found in the wonderfully close connection which he maintains between the doctrine of the Incarnation and the doctrine of salvation. Like S. Paul, his primary interest in defending the Divinity of our Lord is to be found in the fact that only a divine Christ can be our Redeemer. In any age this insistence on the value of the saving work of Christ—salvation being interpreted in a truly ethical and living manner—would have been important. But it was doubly important when it was taught by a man who was the religious genius of this great epoch, whose purpose was like a rock, and whose conscience was like a crystal.

The controversy began A.D. 319 in a discussion

between Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and his presbyter Arius. Alexander laid stress upon the true Divinity of the Son of God, and maintained that His divine nature is ever being begotten by the Father, and in this way he rightly upheld the true Fatherhood of God. Arius opposed him, and taught as follows:—

Doctrine of Arius.

1. A father must exist before his son. Therefore the Son of God, whom S. John calls His "Word," did not exist eternally with the Father.

2. The Word, not being eternal, was created before all other creatures, in order that He might be the agent of God in creating the world.

3. The Word, being a creature, is in all things unlike the Father. He might have sinned, and He does not know the Father perfectly.

4. The body of Christ had no human soul; the place of the soul was taken by the Word.

In order to support this system of belief Arius appealed to those passages in the Old Testament which assert the unity of God, and to those passages in the New Testament which show the dependence of the Son upon the Father, and the limitations to which He submitted himself. The attraction of the theory of Arius was fourfold. It lent itself to the quibbling logic which was a popular amusement of the age; it did not openly reject the New Testament, but professed to interpret it accurately; it avoided those difficulties which seem at first sight to be involved in the idea of a threefold life within the divine Unity, and it presented to half-converted minds the congenial figure of a demigod. While it superficially appeared to be Christian, it really abolished every distinctive feature

of Christianity. There is no full revelation of God, no divine Holy Spirit, no redemption, no sacramental grace. The Catholics asserted that it was "polytheism," and the assertion was true, for the Arians always worshipped Christ, while refusing to believe that He was essentially divine.

Alexander deposed Arius, with two bishops, five priests, and six deacons. But Arius found a protector in Eusebius of Nicomedia, and gained further sympathy from Eusebius of Caesarea, who gathered a synod in Palestine which claimed to reinstate Arius in his sacred office. Constantine was then compelled to interfere, and he sent Hosius to Alexandria with a letter which was intended to make peace, but which showed such a childish ignorance of the real point at issue that it acted like oil upon the flames.

The Council of Nicaea.

He then summoned a general Council of the Church, and it met in May, A.D. 325, at Nicaea, the emperor's summer residence in Bithynia. The total number of bishops was about 300, and the scene was impressive and magnificent. The Council had to settle the position to be occupied by the Meletians in Egypt who returned to the unity of the Church. It also regulated that Easter should be kept throughout the world when the Churches of Rome and Alexandria kept it, and not in accordance with the custom of the Christians of Antioch, who lazily waited until they knew when the Jews intended to keep their Passover and fixed Easter Day on the following Sunday.

But the real business of the Council of Nicaea was to deal with Arianism. And to deal with it effectively it was necessary to draw up a creed which would make

it impossible for Arianism ever to find an entrance into the Church again. An Arian creed was proposed and rejected, and then Eusebius of Caesarea brought forward the creed in use at Caesarea. So far as it went, it was perfectly correct, but was perfectly useless for keeping the new heresy at bay. So the Council accepted it, but they insisted on the addition of certain phrases, which are here printed in italics:—

"We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, *that is of the substance of the Father*, God of God, Light of Light, *very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance* [*homo-ousios*] *with the Father*, by whom all things were made, *both the things in heaven and the things on earth;* who *for us men and* for our salvation *came down and* was incarnate, and suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge the living and dead.

The Creed of Nicaea.

"And in the Holy Ghost."

And at the end of this creed there was appended an anathema on the chief points of the Arian heresy.

The Council closed, the emperor gave a sumptuous banquet, and Arius was banished together with the two Egyptian bishops who had supported him, Secundus and Theonas. And with them went Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea.

The achievement of the Catholics was brilliant, and it was ultimately destined to be permanent. But the battle was not over, it was only begun. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote to his diocese a letter in which the faint praise which he gave to the new creed, showed that he meant to con-

The Eusebian Coalition.

demn it. And he had behind him not only some men of learning but a great body of well-meaning Christians, who did not see that a new formula was necessary to preserve the old truth from new attacks, and were morbidly afraid that the Nicene creed really favoured Sabellianism. It was the work of Eusebius of Nicomedia to create a coalition of all who objected to the *homo-ousios*, whether they were pure Arians or false conservatives, or eclectics who disliked a definite statement of revealed truth. He engineered "the Eusebian reaction" with the most dexterous skill so as to regain his lost position at the imperial court. His fall had been caused by his support of Arius. He, therefore, had to secure the recall of Arius, which he did by the help of Constantia, the emperor's sister. Then Eusebius himself and Theognis were allowed to present a document which protested their own orthodoxy, and in A.D. 328 Eusebius returned home and began to take his revenge. He made himself appear indispensable to the emperor, he wrote letters on the controversy, and found in Asterius a clever theological exponent of his views.

Policy of Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Eusebius of Nicomedia was far too astute to attack openly the Nicene creed. Such an attack would have been an aspersion on the emperor, who had taken such a warm interest in the proceedings at Nicaea. He set himself to convince the emperor that the leading Catholic bishops were undesirable and dangerous, bishops whose characters were a menace both to Church and State.

The first to fall was Eustathius, bishop of the great see of Antioch, who was attacked by both Eusebius of Nicomedia and his namesake of Caesarea. He was

banished to Thrace in 330, being charged with Sabellianism, and with using disrespectful language about the empress. Theodoret also declares that a shameless woman was hired to ruin his reputation by an infamous calumny.

The next to fall was Athanasius, who in A.D. 327 had become bishop of Alexandria, the greatest see in the East. The Arians secured the help of the Meletians in Egypt, and concocted charges of treason against Athanasius. First, they charged him with taxing Egypt to provide albs for the churches, and then with sending gold to a rebel. In 331 Athanasius defended himself before Constantine in person, and defended himself with complete success. Another libel was then started, that a priest named Macarius, acting under Athanasius, had violently disturbed a priest named Ischyras while celebrating the Eucharist, and had broken the chalice. This absurd falsehood was quickly refuted, and the plotters then accused Athanasius of murdering a man named Arsenius in order to obtain his hand for purposes of magic. Constantine had severely forbidden the practice of magical arts, and Eusebius persuaded him that a Council should be summoned to investigate the case to the bottom. After three years of preliminaries, Constantine, in 335, compelled Athanasius to appear before a Council at Tyre. The supposed dead hand of the murdered man was produced amid a thrill of horror. But Athanasius was prepared. He had found the real Arsenius; he led him forward before the Council heavily muffled; he made him slowly produce his two living hands, and asked triumphantly, "Has God given to any man more hands than two?" Some

Council of Tyre.

of the Eusebians exclaimed that this was merely an optical illusion, it was hypnotism ; Arsenius was not really standing there at all. But they thought it best to return to the case of Ischyras, and despatched a commission to Egypt to obtain information. The Alexandrian clergy protested against the shameless unfairness of their action, and Athanasius boldly resolved to go to Constantinople and appeal. Meanwhile the Council condemned Athanasius, and went to Jerusalem to dedicate the gorgeous basilica which had been built by the sepulchre of our Lord. Arius was recognised as a Catholic who had been misunderstood, just as at Tyre the Meletians had been received as Churchmen whose schism had been only harmless diversity. In the midst of the exultation of the Eusebians came a letter from Constantine summoning them to Constantinople. The two Eusebii went, accompanied by Valens and Ursacius, who afterwards became worthy successors to the policy of the Nicomedian prelate. They dropped all the previous charges against Athanasius, but declared that he had threatened to distress Constantinople by delaying the sailing of the corn-fleet from Alexandria. Constantine, wearied by their pertinacious strife, weakly yielded, and early in 336 Athanasius went into his first exile at Treveri (now Trier) in Gaul.

Athanasius' first exile, 336–337.

The next to fall was Marcellus of Ancyra, a friend of Athanasius who had indignantly refused to take part in the assembly at Jerusalem. The Eusebians represented this as an insult to the emperor, and he was condemned at Constantinople in 336, and driven from his home. In his eager opposition to Arianism Marcellus certainly appears to have fallen into a form

of Sabellianism, and thereby gave the Arians a splendid opportunity of attacking the whole Catholic party.

Eusebius of Nicomedia now saw within his grasp the success for which he had toiled so long. Arius was brought to Constantinople, and the Eusebians declared that they would force the bishop to give him Holy Communion. The old man implored God that either he or Arius might die first. And his prayer was answered. That day as Arius passed through the forum he stopped, and died quite suddenly from hæmorrhage. It is probable that elation and excitement were too much for him. The suggestion that he was poisoned is quite unsupported, and it was not made by the Arians themselves, who regarded his death as so inexplicable that they ascribed it to magic.

Eusebius proposes: God disposes.

Soon afterwards, at Whitsuntide, 337, Constantine died, having been baptised on his death-bed by Eusebius of Nicomedia. His friend Eusebius of Caesarea survived until 340.

Note on Marcellus of Ancyra.—The teaching of Marcellus really denies the doctrine of the Trinity and the fact that the Son of God has made our human nature His own for all eternity. He taught that the Divine Unity only expanded into a Trinity for the purposes of creation, redemption, and sanctification. He also taught that the Word of God was not personal until He became incarnate, and therefore he only applied the names *Son* and *Image of God* to the incarnate Saviour. When the work of redemption is finished, the Trinity, Marcellus said, will contract itself into an absolute Unity again, and the Son will again become the Word and be absorbed into the Father. Our Nicene Creed repudiates this by teaching that the kingdom of the Son "will have no end."

CHAPTER XIX

THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE

Prefecture of Gaul.	*Prefectures of Illyricum and Italy.*	*Prefecture of the East.*
Constantine II., died 340.	Constans, died 350.	Constantius II.

Constantius II., sole Emperor, 350–361.

THE Arian controversy showed no sign of cessation, nor indeed was any cessation possible so long as there were any Christians sufficiently courageous to bear witness to the truth. The whole Christian Church within the Roman Empire became more deeply involved in the struggle. Each of the two emperors professed the religion which was held by the majority of the bishops in his part of the empire, and in 337 each recalled to their dioceses the bishops who had been banished in the latter years of Constantine. In the East, however, the permission to return was simply a fraud. Eusebius of Nicomedia had no intention of allowing an opponent to live in peace. He ousted Paul of Constantinople from his see, and in 339 he reached the summit of his ambition by himself becoming bishop of the capital of the Eastern Empire. He turned out Marcellus; and Athanasius, who had gone back to Alexandria in November, 337, was supplanted by an Arian named Gregory. Athanasius left Alexandria 19th

Athanasius' second exile, 339-346.

March, 339, and went to Rome, as did also Marcellus. They were both kindly received by Julius, bishop of Rome, and in the autumn of 340, a synod held at Rome protested against their banishment. The Western bishops, who were comparatively seldom well versed in the subtleties of Eastern theology, were satisfied with the creed presented to them by Marcellus, and failed to discover the erroneous meaning which he attached to its phrases. In the meantime the Eusebian party in the East deliberately began to plot the suppression of the Nicene creed itself. The Arian controversy therefore enters upon a new stage. Hitherto the Eusebian coalition had attacked persons, usually on the pretended charge of disloyalty to the State. They now attacked the creed as disloyal to Holy Scripture.

New stage of controversy : new creeds.

From 340 to 350 the two great purposes of the Arians were (i.) to supplant the Nicene creed by another and Arian formula, and (ii.) to induce the West to agree to this procedure. This is the period during which Antioch was the centre for synods and creeds.

The Eusebians met at Antioch in January, 340. Two priests, Elpidius and Philoxenus, had been sent by Julius of Rome to ask the Eusebians to come to a Council at Rome. They had been sent back early in 340 with an offensive letter declaring that all the Eastern Churches disowned Athanasius. The Council held by Julius at Rome in 340 carefully dissected the Eusebian letter, and Julius replied to it in a grave and statesmanlike answer. This answer of Julius was considered by the Eusebians at a great synod held on the occasion of the dedication of a new cathedral church at Antioch in the summer of 341. They wrote an uncon-

ciliatory letter to Julius, which is now lost. They also drew up a number of canons, one of which specially aimed at Athanasius by laying down that a bishop who is lawfully deposed is never to hope for restoration to his see. Three creeds were also composed, of which the second is the most important. It became known as the "Dedication Creed," and was the favourite formula of the more moderate Arians. Most of it is Catholic, but it of course omits the word *homo-ousios*, and it reveals its own tendency by condemning the doctrine that the Son is a "creature as one of the creatures," an ambiguous condemnation which did not deny the Arian view that the Son is the highest of God's creatures, differing from all other creatures in being the instrument by which they were made, but still only a creature whom God might destroy. A fourth creed was drawn up in 341, and was presented to the Emperor Constans in 342. It specially denounced the teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra, and the anathemas which had been drawn up at Nicaea were skilfully altered so as to strike at Marcellus and at the same time admit the Arian doctrine of Christ's Sonship. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Constantinople died either soon before or soon after this creed was composed.

The deputation which carried this creed to Constans found him at Treveri (Trier), but the impregnably orthodox emperor refused to see the envoys. He admired Athanasius, and summoned him to Treveri. Here the great bishop of Alexandria met the venerable Hosius of Cordova and other prelates, and learnt that the emperors had settled upon Sardica (now Sofia, in Bulgaria), a place within the dominions of Constans, as the spot for a great Council. It met in July, 343.

When the bishops assembled, the Eusebians demanded that the accused orthodox bishops should not be allowed to sit in the Council; the orthodox majority refused, for the Council had been summoned to rehear both sides. The Eusebians then withdrew and assembled at Philippopolis, within the dominions of Constantius. Here they drew up an angry account of what had happened, and deposed everybody, from Julius downward. They added to this statement the "fourth Antiochene" creed. The Council of Sardica acquitted Athanasius, and the ingenious Marcellus succeeded in evading the real point of dispute in his opinions, and was also acquitted. Twenty canons, some of which were most important for the subsequent history of the Church, were also drawn up at Sardica. The most momentous deal with the question of appeals. Hosius would remember that at Nicaea he had helped the Council to sketch the outline of a system of appeals, under which the bishops of each province were to meet in synod twice a year in order to revise the judicial decisions of individual bishops. But the provincial organisation of Churches, which existed widely in the East in 325, scarcely existed in the West even in 343. His thoughts could not fail to be drawn towards the most central organised and ancient Western see, that of Rome, and in the Roman bishop he saw a fit arbiter of episcopal appeals. It was therefore decided that appeals made by bishops should be carried to the bishop of Rome.[1]

Council of Sardica.

Judicial Appeals.

Authority of Rome.

[1] The appeal is to the bishop of Rome *as such*: the manuscripts of the best type omit the name of "Julius" the particular bishop of Rome at this time.

If a dispute takes place between two bishops, and the defeated bishop claims a rehearing, then (i.) either the bishops who have acted as judges or the bishops of a neighbouring province may refer to the bishop of Rome, "in honour of the memory of S. Peter," the question whether the trial ought to be reheard. If so, (ii.) the judges are to be selected by the pope from among the local bishops.

But if a bishop has been actually deposed, he may appeal to the pope, who has to decide (*a*) whether the case is to be reheard, and, if it is, (*b*) whether the bishops of the next province to that from which the appeal has come, will suffice to settle the case, or whether the assistance of a presbyter-legate from Rome be desirable.

In neither case is there any provision for the bishop of Rome calling the business into any court of his own. But these Sardican canons gave a stimulus to the whole growth of Roman jurisdiction, and conflicted with the established rights not only of the Eastern but even of the Western Churches.

Constans supported the orthodox bishops who met at Sardica, and wrote to Constantius to force him to restore the exiled bishops. His representations gained weight from a diabolical trick by which Stephen, the Arian bishop of Antioch, tried to discredit the Catholic cause by introducing a disreputable woman into the house of Euphrates, one of the envoys from Sardica. This was more than Constantius could endure, and he summoned a Council, which met at Antioch that summer, 344. Stephen was deposed, but the "fourth Antiochene" creed was again published with long additions fiercely attacking Marcellus and his disciple Photinus. These "long

Macrostich Creed.

verses" won for the whole formula the title of *Macrostich*. Deputies carried it to Milan, where a council condemned Photinus (not Marcellus), and drove away the deputies by the simple expedient of asking them to condemn Arianism.

Constantius followed up his action by cancelling his severe measures against the Catholics. He pressed Athanasius to return to his see, and as Gregory, the intruded bishop, died in 345, one great obstacle was removed. After a circuitous journey, Athanasius reached Alexandria in October, 346, amid the wild enthusiasm of his flock. Peace was not really secured; it was forced upon the empire by a war with Persia and by the wholesome fear that Constantius entertained for his brother, as well as by a temporary revulsion of his own feelings. Strife broke out after the murder of Constans in 350.

From 350 to 360, Constantius being the sole ruler of the empire, the Arians endeavoured to bring the controversy to a conclusion by the employment of force. The emperor resided much at Sirmium, and this is the period of Sirmian synods and creeds. The two Pannonian bishops, Ursacius and Valens, occupy the position of influence which Eusebius of Nicomedia had vacated by death.

Another stage of controversy: Violence.

After the first synod at Sirmium (351), at which Photinus was deposed, and a creed drawn up resembling the fourth creed of Antioch, Constantius determined to crush the Catholicism of the West. At Arles, in Gaul, in 353—a see then ruled by Saturninus, a violent Arian—a Council was held which condemned Athanasius. One noble bishop, Paulinus of Trier, held out,

and was banished to Asia Minor. Constantius then desired to complete in Italy what he had begun in Gaul, and gave leave for a great Council at Milan in 355. The bishop of Milan, Dionysius, was a Catholic, and so were the people, and the Arians therefore transferred the Council from the church to the palace. The emperor bullied the bishops in such a way that one of them afterwards declared that he talked "as if we were gladiators." He insisted that they should condemn Athanasius, and said, "Let my will serve for a canon." The majority were terrorised. A few were faithful, among them were Dionysius himself, Lucifer of Calaris, Maximus of Naples, and Hilary of Poitiers. Some were treated with heartless cruelty, and Hilary was banished to Phrygia. Liberius, bishop of Rome, having refused to condemn Athanasius, was banished to Thrace, and Felix, an anti-pope, was set up in his stead. And on February 8th, 356, Athanasius and his people, while holding a vigil service in the church of S. Theonas at Alexandria, were surrounded by five thousand soldiers under the Duke Syrianus. The great prelate behaved with intrepid calmness, and not until nearly all had escaped did he suffer himself to be removed by his friends from the chancel. He fled into the desert, and spent the next six years in concealment. He was replaced by the infamous George of Cappadocia, an army contractor, who became an Arian ecclesiastic, and whom Gibbon wrongly identified with an older George, the patron saint of England and of chivalry. He behaved with ruthless violence, employing a military officer named Sebastian, who distinguished himself by his brutal treatment of women and priests. With the

Athanasius' third exile, 356–362.

establishment of Felix at Rome and George at Alexandria, the Eusebian coalition at last appeared to be victorious. The very next year (357) this formidable coalition broke up. The reason was as follows:—

The Eusebians had, as we have seen, always included different parties. Of these the two most important were, first, that which was mildly reactionary and wished to go behind the Nicene creed because it was afraid of Sabellianism; and secondly, that which was strongly reactionary and thoroughly Arian. These two parties were united by a negation, namely, their denial of the *homo-ousios*, and they veiled their differences under evasive statements. But after 351 there arose a party of uncompromising Arians, who taught the complete *dissimilarity* of the Father and the Son. They were appropriately named *Anomœans* (from *anomoios*, unlike), and were led by Aetius and Eunomius. They asserted that the essence of the Father is to be found in the fact that He is unbegotten. It will be seen at once that this theory represents God as a blank abstraction, and directly repudiates the teaching of Christ—"He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." The Anomœans were not content with teaching the original Arianism in its extreme form, but added the additional blasphemy that since the essence of God is so perfectly simple we can know God as well as He can know himself. Now Valens was at heart an Anomœan, and in 357 there was drawn up at Sirmium under the eyes of the court ecclesiastics a formula which is known as the second Sirmian creed, and more fitly as "the Blasphemy." This creed does not openly call the Son "unlike" the Father, but it forbids the assertion that there is a likeness of

Sirmian Blasphemia

essence between the Father and the Son, and says that the Father is "greater in Godhead" than the Son. This creed or manifesto therefore favoured ultra-Arianism, though it did not contain all that the Anomœans taught, and Eudoxius of Antioch greeted it as sheltering the adherents of Aetius. Pathos is blended with the story of this creed. The venerable Hosius of Cordova, who would have been "one of the greatest of the saints, if he had lived only a hundred years," was induced to sign it under cruel pressure, if not actual torture. He repented, and died in communion with the Church.

"The Blasphemy" immediately alienated the moderate Arian party. In 358 Cyril of Jerusalem, Meletius of Antioch, and other prelates, met at Ancyra under the leadership of Basil, bishop of that city. They drew up a statement which consolidated their party, which may be called Semi-Arian or Semi-Nicene. They were determined that the divine Sonship should not be represented as a merely titular dignity. Therefore, though they still repudiated the term *homo-ousios*, they declared that every father is understood to be father of a substance (*ousia*) like his own. The Son is like the Father in substance (*homoi-ousios*) and "perfect of perfect." No one who studies the language of this document can doubt that the Semi-Arians had conceded almost everything that the Catholics desired. They had admitted the fact of the divine Sonship, and they were only declining to use a word which, though they did not see it, was the only word that did justice to that fact. In less than ten years many of them had accepted the faith in its fulness. Certain envoys from Ancyra went to Constantius and produced a

Semi-Arian Reaction.

favourable impression on his mind. They also drew up a very composite Semi-Arian creed, known as the third Sirmian creed of 358. Sozomen says that Liberius, bishop of Rome, signed this formula before returning to Rome with the emperor's sanction.[1] But evidence which is older and better than that of Sozomen makes it extremely probable that he signed not this Semi-Arian formula, but "the Blasphemy" itself.[2] Whichever of the two creeds he signed, he signed an heretical creed as the *de jure* bishop of Rome, who wished once more to be bishop of Rome *de facto*. That he therefore publicly fell into heresy cannot be fairly disputed.

Fall of Liberius.

The Semi-Arians followed up their success by obtaining the emperor's leave for a general Council at which their own views would be finally ratified. They were outwitted by Ursacius and Valens, who with Acacius now acted as the leaders of a distinct party. Ultra-Arianism or Anomœanism was discredited. And the Catholics had not fully convinced the Semi-Nicene bishops, though S. Hilary in his fine treatise *De Synodis*, probably written in 358, showed that there could be no halting-place between *homoi-ousios* and *homo-ousios*. But as no party was satisfied, and no formula had won universal acceptance, it was still possible to suggest a new scheme. If we cannot say *of one substance*, nor *of like substance*, nor yet *unlike*, the only course open is to say *like*, and forbid any further definition. To insist on this undogmatic elastic phrase and persecute every bishop who preferred an unambiguous statement of his faith

Rise of the Homœan Arians.

[1] Soz. *H. E.* iv. 15.

[2] Hieron. *Chron.* 97; Hilarii *Opera Frag.* vi

was the policy of the *Homœans* (from *homoios*, like). Valens was acute enough to see that Anomœanism was unpopular, and he was diplomatic enough to make use of men less extreme than himself. So he determined to back Homœanism, knowing that it was much too vague a system to exclude the entrance of ultra-Arianism.

He suggested to Constantius that the proposed general Council should meet in two portions. Half was to meet at Ariminum, where Valens would be present in person. The other half was to meet at Seleucia in Isauria, under the eye of Acacius. Valens and Acacius agreed beforehand that both these synods should accept a Homœan creed which was drawn up at Sirmium, and is the fourth Sirmian creed, or Dated Creed, of May 22nd, 359. It prohibits the word *ousia*, and says that the Son is *like in all things* to the Father. Valens tried to suppress the words *in all things*, but Constantius insisted that they should be retained.

The Dated Creed.

The majority at Ariminum were Catholics, and definitely rejected the plausible overtures of Valens. At Seleucia the majority were Semi-Arians, rejected the Dated Creed, affirmed their belief in the Dedication Creed of 341, and deposed Acacius. From both synods deputations went to the emperor. He detained the deputies from Ariminum at Hadrianople and then at Nicé in Thrace, and in October, 358, beguiled them into accepting a Homœan creed without the words *in all things*. Valens then took this creed of Nicé to Ariminum and made a number of apparently Anti-Arian statements which the simple-minded Western

Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia.

Catholics did not discern to be so much dust thrown into their own eyes. They were satisfied, and signed. Valens then hurried to Constantinople, where he met the Semi-Arian deputies from Seleucia. At first they were firm. But they found the deputies from Ariminum mere tools of the Homœans; they were threatened with exile by the emperor, and they were able to salve their consciences with the fact that the Homœans swore that they repudiated the word *unlike*. The Semi-Arians yielded on New Year's Eve, 360. In January a Council was held at Constantinople, and the creed of Nicé was reissued without the anathemas against Anomœan doctrine which had been appended at Ariminum. Homœanism was now supreme, and it was of the low type which shaded off into Anomœanism. It is true that Acacius sacrificed Aetius to the emperor's sentiment and secured his deposition. But it is equally true that by merely saying that the Son is *like* the Father, the Homœans had left it possible for men to argue that Jesus Christ only resembled the Father so far as an angel or a prophet resembled God. And, as a matter of fact, Eudoxius, a blasphemous Anomœan, was actually appointed to the see of Constantinople. On the other hand, Catholics and Semi-Arians were vigorously persecuted, and the party which had so ostentatiously opposed definite dogma and maintained the sufficiency of using "only scriptural expressions," showed that it could tolerate the idea that Christ was a demigod, but could not tolerate apostolic Christianity. The Anomœans held that the Son was created by the Father, and the Holy Spirit created by the Son, and

Result of undogmatic Christianity.

they emphasised their error by giving up the custom of baptising into the name of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. And against this new paganism the Homœans erected no real barrier.

Meletius of Antioch.

While the downgrade tendency of Arianism proved the truth of the saying that "Arianism is not a platform, but a slope," the conversion of the Semi-Arian Meletius proved that some who stood upon that slope were capable of ascending. In 361 he was bidden by Constantius to preach at Antioch on a test passage of Holy Scripture. And while he preached, he spoke first of charity, and then more and more definitely about the true Deity of God the Son. His Catholic hearers broke forth in shouts of applause. According to Sozomen, an Arian archdeacon stepped forward and placed his hand upon the bishop's mouth, whereupon the bishop extended first three fingers and then one finger as a confession of the Trinity in Unity, and when the archdeacon tried to seize his hand, Meletius urgently exhorted the people to keep the Nicene faith. He was banished from the city within thirty days, but kept the faith until death. His bishopric was taken by a prominent Arian, Euzoius. His own adherents then organised themselves separately. They remained apart from the original Catholic body at Antioch, whose presbyter, Paulinus, a man of high character, felt conscientiously unable to recognise Meletius on account of the fact that he had been consecrated by Arians. Thus, for a time, there were two separate Catholic communities in Antioch.

The death of Constantius, in the autumn of 361,

delivered the empire from civil war and the Church from destruction.

NOTES ON SOCRATES' ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, BOOK II.—The author has abstained from giving references to this book, because the chronological order adopted by Socrates is so full of mistakes that references would confuse a beginner. The following is an attempt to give dates to some of the chapters in Socrates' Book II. :—

Ch. vii. refers to A.D. 339. See above, p. 251.
Ch. viii. refers to A.D. 341. See above, p. 251, 252.
Ch. ix. refers to A.D. 339. See above, p. 250.
Ch. x. (Gregory) refers to A.D. 339. See above, p. 250.
Ch. x. (creeds) refers to A.D. 341. See above, p. 252.
Ch. xi. refers to A.D. 339 (but the reference to Syrianus belongs to the coming of George to Alexandria in A.D. 356).
Ch. xii. refers to (?) A.D. 342.
Ch. xiii. (Hermogenes) refers to A.D. 342.
Ch. xiv. is incorrect both as to facts and dates; Gregory died in A.D. 345, and George came to Alexandria in A.D. 357.
Chs. xv. and xvii refer confusedly to events in A.D. 339–341. See above, pp. 250–2.
Ch. xvi. refers to A.D. 350.
Ch. xviii. refers to A.D. 342. See above, p. 252.
Ch. xix. refers to A.D. 344. See above, p. 254.
Ch. xx. (Council of Sardica) refers to A.D. 343. See above, p. 253.

The statements of Socrates must be checked by the writings of S. Athanasius, a good selection of which is contained in Robertson's *Athanasius*. See above, p. 149.

CHAPTER XX

JULIAN AND CULTURE

AND now came a brief, strange interlude. The new emperor was a sincere pagan, a pagan theologian, and all the more determined to be the champion of paganism because, for the greater part of his life, he had been dosed with an adulterated Christianity. The fact that it was not genuine Christianity, but Arianism, and the other fact that it was forced upon him as a matter of compulsory routine, claim for Julian a degree of compassion which he would not otherwise deserve. He was born at Constantinople in 331, and his sympathies were from the beginning Greek rather than Roman. At first he was entrusted to the care of a eunuch Mardonius, who taught him to appreciate the philosophy of Plato and the poetry of Homer. And his earliest impression of the nature of Christian rule was derived from the massacre of nine princes which signalised the accession of Constantius to the throne. Julian himself believed that he and his half-brother Gallus narrowly escaped the same fate. But Constantius spared him, and gave him to the tutorship of the Arian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia. When thirteen, he and his brother Gallus were sent to the remote castle of Macellum, in Cappadocia, where they

Julian: early life.

were drilled in Arian Christianity and left to associate with slaves. They read the lessons in the liturgy, and surrendered their money to build a church in honour of S. Mamas. At the age of nineteen he went to Constantinople, and the next year was removed to Nicomedia, where the famous pagan lecturer Libanius then resided. Julian was forbidden to attend his lectures, but he outwitted his guardians by obtaining the lecture notes of another student. What was more mischievous in its results was his introduction to the quack philosopher Maximus, who taught a mixture of Neo-Platonism and magic at Ephesus.

In 354 Gallus roused the suspicions of Constantius, and was executed. Julian was placed for a while under the supervision of a military guard, but owing to the kindness of the empress Eusebia he was permitted to visit Athens in 355. Here for a short time he revelled in the idiom and the wisdom of Attica, he was himself considered a man of light and leading in the university, and among his numerous acquaintances were Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil, afterwards to be numbered among the saints. But his sojourn in Athens was not for long. Constantius called him to the court before the year ended, made him Caesar, and sent him to Gaul. Here for five years Julian distinguished himself by his military successes. He won the enthusiastic admiration of his soldiers, and in 361, when they hailed him as "Augustus," Julian accepted their acclamation and marched for Pannonia. From Nisch he wrote to the Athenians to justify his action, and on his march he offered sacrifices to the gods. Constantius died before the two rivals met in battle.

Julian accompanied the funeral of his dead rival,

and then set resolutely to work. Chaste in his life, and sparing in his diet, he expelled from the palace one thousand cooks, one thousand barbers, and the countless creatures whose presence would be more fitting in the Sultan's seraglio than in a Christian court. But the affected filthiness of his own personal appearance showed the empire that it was now ruled by an emperor who was as much a fanatic as a reformer. His most cherished policy was to revive and restore paganism and to humiliate Christianity for eternity. By word, deed, and writing he showed that he was the "pontifex maximus" of heathenism, and this title, which even the Christian emperors had retained, became filled with a new significance. But while it seemed at first that he would restore the religion of classical Greece, such was not really the case. He was a child of his time, no less truly than Constantius had been, and his religion was not the religion of Homer nor even of Plato. It was a modern form of Neo-Platonism, mixed with magical spiritualism and affected by Christian ceremonial and Christian asceticism. He believed in one good divine incomprehensible Being; emanating from Him were a number of "intelligible" gods, the highest of whom is the Sun. This Sun is eternal and uncreated, but it is manifested in the sun which we can see, and which is itself to be regarded as the lord of the world of sense. Under him are numerous inferior gods, and room was found for all the old local worships of the pagan world. Polytheism was thus defended, and Monotheism was denounced as "a calumniation of the Deity." With the ardour of a devotee, he revelled in animal sacrifices,

Julian emperor.

Julian's creed.

he bathed himself in the blood of a bull offered to Mithras, while, like a modern Hindu who opposes Christianity, he tried to throw a decent veil of allegorical interpretation over the foulest myths of his creed. In many respects his religion was a palpable plagiarism of Christianity. Against the Canon of Scripture, Julian drew up a Canon of Philosophy. Against the Christian ministry he tried to form a new pagan hierarchy, divided into various orders, and living a life of purity and devotion. Against the Christian liturgy he drew up regulations for pagan services, with hymns and sermons, choristers and vestments. He even tried to introduce pagan forms of penance, pagan monasteries, and pagan hospitals. While he mocked at the "Galileans," as he called the followers of Christ, he paid them the homage of imitating the chastity, the reverence, and the compassion, which had their origin at Nazareth.

Persecution of the Church.

Julian's proceedings against the Christians included a withdrawal of all State aid from the Church. The privileges of the Church as a corporation disappeared, the exemption of the clergy from the heavy burden of compulsory civic offices was revoked, as were the sums given to Christian widows and virgins. Under the apparently innocent law that "public possessions be restored to the cities," numerous Christian churches were destroyed, and even in places where the whole population was Christian, it was ordered that temples should be restored or rebuilt.

The law gave the pagans an excuse for murderous violence against the Christians when the opportunity offered itself, and Julian blamed their crimes with faint

complaints and warm compliments. But it is probable that nothing so greatly exasperated his Christian subjects as his educational policy. He first issued an edict confirming the privileges of all physicians and professors. Five weeks later he made a tentative attack upon religious education by putting the election of professors into the hands of the municipal authorities, subject to the emperor's own veto. This, however, left many staunch Christians in possession of their posts. Julian therefore issued a third edict forbidding Christians to teach grammar and rhetoric. He added insult to injury by spicing the edict with sarcastic gibes. It was obviously his wish to make the Christians a body of illiterate boors, incapable of defending their own principles. They were forbidden to teach, and as they would not attend pagan schools, they were indirectly forbidden to learn. No education bill ever roused a deeper indignation, and even Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen historian, says that it should be "buried in eternal silence."

Rebuilding the Temple.

One of the most characteristic means which Julian took to discredit Christianity was his plan of rebuilding the Jewish Temple. The Jews crowded to Jerusalem with exultant hopes, but Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, reminded his flock of the prophecy that not one stone should be left upon another. He was right, for Julian was unsuccessful. S. Chrysostom, the Christian father, and Ammianus, the heathen historian, agree in telling us that the work was marvellously cut short. An explosion of fire took place amid the foundations of the Temple, so violently and so repeatedly, that the workmen were driven back, and the project was finally abandoned.

The event was typical of Julian's failure. Less dramatic than this prodigy, but equally significant, was his visit to the grove of Daphne, at Antioch, in 362. At this lovely haunt of consecrated vice Julian naturally expected to find a sumptuous sacrifice and a festal crowd of worshippers. But he was met by no crowd, and he was greeted with neither choral songs nor fragrant incense. There was one priest, one boy, and a goose which was to be offered to the god of the Sun. And when Julian consulted the oracle of Daphne at the Castalian stream, there was no answer. Julian thought there must be some special reason for this silence, and he attributed it to the profane influence exercised by the relics of the martyr Babylas, who had been buried in the sacred grove. He therefore ordered the "Galileans" to take away the body. The Christians rejoiced in the opportunity of making such a demonstration as the occasion rendered possible. The relics of S. Babylas were placed upon a chariot and escorted to Antioch by a vast and exulting procession amid the chanting of psalms, interpolated with the appropriate antiphon, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images, and that delight in vain gods." And so the triumph which Julian had planned for himself was turned into his most bitter humiliation. Julian revenged himself by confiscating the wealth of the cathedral of Antioch and other acts of persecution. Before long the temple of Daphne was burnt;[1] the Christians said that it was burnt by lightning, and Julian imputed the fire to the Christians.

Julian at Antioch.

The internal affairs of the Church during the reign

[1] Soz. *H. E.* v. 20.

of Julian are marked by hope and progress. Julian recalled the bishops who had been banished by his predecessor, hoping that the Christian sects would devour one another. Here again he was disappointed. The Catholics consolidated themselves, and the movement of the Semi-Arians towards Catholicism, which began in 358, brought a stream of converts into the Church. This happy reunion was stimulated by the encouragement which Julian gave to the ultra-Arian Actius, and by the increasing tendency of the Homœan party to become Anomœan. The soul of the policy of reunion was, of course, Athanasius, and the policy had all the better prospect of success because it had not only started from one definite point, Alexandria, the home of Nicene orthodoxy, but also was directed towards another definite point, Antioch, where Meletius, the popular Semi-Arian bishop, had been recently converted.

Internal state of the Church.

Council at Alexandria.

The legislative power of Athanasius was manifested at a Council held at Alexandria in 362, and in the "Tome," or synodal letter, which it despatched to "those at Antioch." Good sense and patient charity marked the action of the Council. It was decided that bishops who had signed an Arian creed should be reconciled to the Church if they professed the Nicene faith and rejected every heresy; the Old Catholic party at Antioch, under Paulinus, were advised to unite with the New Catholic party under Meletius; a controversy was allayed with regard to the use of the word *hypostasis*, as applied to the being of God; and a check was given to a revival of a Docetic theory which practically nullified the reality of our Lord's human mind, a

revival led by Apollinarius of Laodicea. The work which was done for reunion in the East by Athanasius was carried on in the West by Eusebius of Vercellae and Hilary of Poitiers.

Julian, stung to the quick by the success of Athanasius, and by his conversion of some high-born pagan ladies, called him a "despicable mannikin," and ordered him to be exiled. Soon afterwards the emperor started on a campaign against the Persians. "What is the carpenter's Son doing now?" asked Libanius, the pagan lecturer of Antioch, of a Christian tutor. "He is at work on a coffin," replied the Christian. And so it proved to be. Julian, on this his last campaign, seems to have completely lost his sense of good generalship, and on June 26th, 363, he died, smitten by a Persian arrow. A legend, first told by Theodoret, says that his last words were, "Thou hast conquered, Galilean." If the legend came only from the lips of the people, it nevertheless represents the verdict of history. For the Galilean had conquered, and the body of Julian was laid to rest at Tarsus, the birthplace of the apostle who won the Greek world for Christ.

Death of Julian.

After the death of Julian, pagan culture was compelled to act upon the defensive. His life proved that at every point of philosophy, religion, and morals, heathenism was practically impotent. It needed but a few years more to show that with a change of ideals there must necessarily be a change in literature and art. The spell of the classics was not dead. The Christians who had been trained in the schools of Greek rhetoricians and philosophers showed abundant traces of academic

Culture from A.D. 363 to A.D. 460.

tradition. If they were merely literary men, their writings were even more unreal than those of their pagan contemporaries. They could admire what was old, but could create nothing that was really new. But the greater Christian spirits, who had a true enthusiasm for Christian ideas, helped to make the world's history. They have remained interesting to posterity, while the mere literary cliques, pagan or Christian, were chiefly interesting to themselves. A few names of those who were famed for their love of letters must be briefly mentioned.

Themistius.

Themistius, born *c.* 315, enjoyed the favour of several emperors and was entrusted with the education of Arcadius, the son of the emperor Theodosius. He was practically the public orator of Constantinople, and pleaded repeatedly for toleration in matters of religious belief and worship. He censures the turncoats who attend pagan sacrifices to-day and the Christian holy table to-morrow. His religion is of the syncretist type. He argues that God has planted the feeling of piety in all mankind, but has left the special kind of worship to the will of each individual. He told the persecuting Emperor Valens that difference of belief redounded to the glory of God, and that God desired these different forms of belief in order that the difficulty of knowing Him might increase our sense of His majesty! Themistius was called "The king of eloquence" by S. Gregory of Nazianzum.

Libanius.

Libanius (A.D. 314–393) was a noted rhetorician. From his youth he was devoted to ancient literature. At the age of fifteen he sold his favourite pigeons to give all his care to the classics. At the age of twenty he was nearly blinded by reading

the *Acharnians* during a terrific thunderstorm. He afterwards taught at Athens, Constantinople, Nicaea, and Nicomedia. He was a prolific writer, and had many pupils, and his speeches throw much light on the academic life of the time. He was a sincere pagan, and hailed the accession of Julian with delight. But he was afterwards on friendly terms with the Christians, and admired Chrysostom so much that he would have named him as his successor, "if he had not been carried off by the Christians." In the time of Theodosius he composed a famous speech on behalf of the preservation of heathen temples, appealing to the principle recognised by Christians that religion is a matter of conviction and not compulsion.

In these two writers we find that the very principle which the Christian Lactantius had urged on behalf of toleration for the Christians is now urged by pagans for paganism.

Q. Aurelius Symmachus (A.D. 345–405), consul in 391, was another devoted adherent of the old order. He had grown up in the traditions of an old Roman family and was thoroughly familiar with the great Latin authors. His style is luxuriant, but colourless. He won fame in connection with the altar of Victory in the Roman senate-house. It had been removed by Constantius and restored by Julian. And in 384 he addressed to Theodosius a dignified appeal that it might be again restored. He also pleaded for religious toleration, on the ground that "the great mystery might well be approached in more ways than one." He was not a philosopher, but a respected and cultured Roman gentleman, full of literary polish and smitten with spiritual poverty. He

Symmachus.

tells us that he spent his days "patching up his health, avoiding disturbance, and always loving literature."

Ausonius. Ausonius (A.D. 310–393) was born at Bordeaux, and taught grammar and rhetoric to the youthful Emperor Gratian. He was for a time praetorian prefect of Gaul, but relapsed into the pleasures of scholarship. He wrote a fine poem on the Moselle, describing the beautiful river in happy lines. But, as a rule, he loved learned trifles and the most fantastic tricks of verse. He was a Christian, but apparently one of a very retiring nature. He wrote a most orthodox prayer, which scrupulously repudiates Arianism, but his interests lay in the memories of a heathen past.

Claudian. Claudius Claudianus (flourished A.D. 400), the poet friend of Stilicho, was born on the Nile, but in heart was, as the modern Romans would say, "Roman of Rome." He hated Constantinople as a bastard and upstart Rome and hated its servile nobles. He placidly ignored the fact that paganism was no longer the religion of the empire, but he had no conscientious scruple against celebrating the praises of the Christian emperors, Theodosius and Honorius.

Pagan historians. The historians Ammianus Marcellinus, Eunapius, and Zosimus clung to the old religion. The two latter were Neo-Platonists. Early in the fifth century this school of thought found a new home in Alexandria and a fascinating leader in the person of Hypatia, who lectured on mathematics, Plato, and Aristotle. She was killed by the Alexandrian mob in 415. She was dragged from her chariot and torn limb from limb, a hideous

Hypatia.

crime, which was prompted by the idea that it was she who kept Orestes the prefect from being reconciled with Cyril the bishop. There is no truth in the heathen story that Cyril planned the murder, but it is true that Cyril had done something to foster the fanaticism of which that crime was a symptom.

Synesius.

The most famous among the pupils of Hypatia was Synesius (died *c.* A.D. 430). He stayed in Constantinople and Athens, returned to Alexandria, where he lived from 402 to 404, and then settled down in his old home as a country gentleman and sportsman. To his embarrassment, he was called by the voice of the people to be bishop of Ptolemais. He was active in discharging his episcopal duties, and converted a philosopher named Evagrius. But he continued to write letters which are not only full of news, but also full of "grace and point and literary interest." Synesius was one of the most versatile of characters and one of the most picturesque figures in a great age of transition.

S. Paulinus.

The Christian pupil, friend, and counterpart of Ausonius was S. Paulinus of Nola (A.D. 353–431). He belonged to one of the noblest Roman families, and owned broad estates in Aquitaine. A typical Roman noble, and one who had held the consulship before he was thirty years of age, he suddenly disappeared from Bordeaux, and his friends learnt that he had become a Christian. He remained full of gratitude to his old master, who prayed the Muses of Bœotia to restore his friend to the poetry of Rome; but Paulinus replied that hearts consecrated to Christ are closed to Apollo and the Muses. He became bishop of Nola in 409. In a letter to his friend Jovius, he

compares the charms of literature to the fruit of the lotus and the songs of the Sirens, which made men forget their true home. He does not, however, wish philosophy to be laid aside, but to be combined with faith.

None of these authors, Christian or pagan, are of the same importance as S. Jerome and S. Augustine, who will be mentioned later in this book as writers of the greatest historical importance.

The following summary expresses the opinion of a learned and judicious modern critic with regard to the literature of this period: "It is hard to form a completely unprejudiced judgment, but the conclusion is forced upon me, when I survey the fourth century, its interests, and its energies, that the Church had absorbed all that was then vital in the civilised world. It had not assimilated all of the beauty and wisdom of the great classical period, for much of them was lost to that age and was not to be recovered for centuries. The Church of that day had her weaknesses; she made grave mistakes, and she was not without sins that bore bitter fruit: but she rose superior to all the world around her, and to whatever sphere of work and thought we turn—literature, philosophy, administration —we find her marked off from all her environment by one characteristic it had not and she had—life and the promise of life."[1]

[1] Terrot Reaveley Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, pp. 18, 19.

CHAPTER XXI

FROM JULIAN TO THEODOSIUS

A.D. 363–379

Jovian, sole Emperor, 363–364.

Western Empire.	*Eastern Empire.*
Valentinian I., 364–375.	Valens, 364–378.
Gratian, 375–383.	
Valentinian II., 375–392.	Theodosius, chosen by Gratian, 379–395.
The latter, in 383, confined to Italy by the usurper *Maximus*, who was quelled by Theodosius in 388. In 392, Valentinian II. murdered by the usurper *Eugenius*, who was quelled in 394.	

Theodosius, sole Emperor, 394–395.

AFTER the death of Julian the progress of the Church still continued. The new emperor was Jovian, a gigantic, somewhat easy-going soldier, who had resigned his commission in Julian's army rather than deny his faith. He was beset by Semi-Arians and Anomœans, who desired to win him to their side. The emperor declined to commit himself further than to say that he hated contentiousness. The Homœans acted with their wonted guile. When Jovian arrived at Antioch in October, 363, he showed great respect to Meletius, the bishop of the New

Jovian.

Catholic community. The Homœans, wishing to enjoy the same imperial favour, thereupon professed that they accepted the Nicene Creed! The emperor preferred to trust Athanasius, who, as he knew, had curried favour with neither prince nor people. He called him back to his diocese, and graciously received at his hands a letter containing a summary of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Jovian remained steadfast in the orthodox faith, but his toleration was perhaps partly the result of sloth, and, if we can trust Ammianus, his personal character was such that we can hardly regret that after a reign of seven months he died from sleeping in a bedroom with damp walls.

Valentinian and Valens.

Valentinian I. (364–375) succeeded Jovian, and assigned the prefecture of the East to his brother Valens (364–378). He thus established once more the principle of dividing the Empire, a principle which lasted until 476. Valentinian was in many respects an interesting and remarkable man. Chaste in life, moderate in diet, tolerant in religion, apt at choosing good subordinates, he distrusted ability, and he was cruel and violent in temper. His chief favourites were two pet and imperfectly tamed she-bears, and he killed his servants for the most trivial offences. Ammianus praises him for never disturbing anyone on account of their belief, and he entrusted his son to the tutorship of Ausonius. Catholic in his own convictions, his ecclesiastical policy was marked by a strong sense of justice and by a perception of the necessity of peace. A characteristic and important proof of this can be found in his action towards Auxentius, the Homœan bishop of the great see of Milan. Valentinian ordered

Auxentius of Milan.

both Catholics and Arians to meet in the churches under the authority of Auxentius, whom he apparently regarded as more orthodox than he really was. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, a man who had shown himself a staunch but conciliatory Catholic, strongly protested. The emperor then ordered Hilary and Auxentius to meet together and hold a conference in the presence of some high imperial officials. The Arian, with the hypocrisy for which the Homœans were peculiarly distinguished, professed to believe that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. He then evaded the demand that he should declare this belief in a public assembly, and presented a memorial to Valentinian, which wore an orthodox colour, but omitted the word "consubstantial." The emperor was satisfied, and then received the holy communion from Auxentius. Hilary left Milan, and wrote an indignant warning to the Catholics of that city, in which he calls Auxentius "an angel of Satan, a foe of Christ, whose professions to the emperor were deceitful." It can hardly be doubted that he was right. But we cannot blame the emperor for wishing to be just to a man whose subtle ambiguities could only be detected by the trained eye of a careful theologian.

Valens was a much inferior edition of his brother. He was more ignorant, more distrustful, haunted by the fear of magic, and a victim of his friends and advisers. His dread lest spiritualism should be employed against his life is shown by the execution of some persons who had employed a magical tripod to discover who should be the next emperor after Valens. Like Constantius, he was a fanatical Homœan, and he was under the influence of Eudoxius, bishop of Con-

stantinople, who baptised him, and who now professed to be Homœan. At the end of 364 a Semi-Arian synod met at Lampsacus, repudiated the creed of Ariminum, and sent a deputation to Valens. He commanded them to agree with Eudoxius, and then began to persecute Semi-Arians and Catholics alike. In 365 Athanasius was sent into his fifth and last exile, and hid in a country house near a cutting of the Nile. All bishops who were recalled by Julian were banished at the same time, so that Meletius had to give way to Euzoius, and Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory of Nyssa were alike turned out. The Semi-Arians, who found themselves in the same case as the Catholics, thought that it would be wisest to make the best of their circumstances. So they turned westward, to Valentinian, emperor of the West, and Liberius, bishop of Rome. Valentinian was absent in Gaul, but Liberius was on the spot. He made his visitors anathematise the creed of Ariminum, and sign the Nicene Creed, and addressed a masterly and judicious letter to the bishops whom the delegates had represented. At Tyana, in Cappadocia, in 367, many of these bishops assented to the faith, but before long a large body of the Semi-Arians denied it, and two of the three men who had gone as delegates to Rome apostatised. Further reconciliation was rendered impossible by Valens, who prohibited the meeting of a Council at Tarsus which was intended to promote reunion.

Athansius' fifth exile.

The general result was that while the Homœans relied on the favour of a contemptible emperor, and while the Semi-Arians wavered to and fro, and the Anomœans dwindled under Homœan persecution, the Catholics alone behaved with dignity and firmness, and

won some genuine converts. Their victory was due both to the essentially Christian character of their doctrine and to the great personalities who supported it. Among these supporters "the three Cappadocians" hold places in the front rank. They were Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Gregory of Nyssa. Their most notable achievement was the fact that while they taught the Nicene Creed without compromise, they made it easier for the Semi-Arians to accept. Honest Semi-Arians were afraid that the Nicene Creed would foster Sabellianism and destroy a belief in the distinction between the Persons of the Trinity. The Cappadocians rendered this suspicion an impossibility by using and explaining the phrase, "three *hypostaseis* in one substance." The word "*hypostasis*" had been employed at the Council of Nicaea in a sense which was the equivalent to substance. But Origen had used it more in the sense of personality or personal subsistence. This sense had been tolerated by the Council of Alexandria, held by Athanasius in 362, and the Cappadocians seized on the words "three *hypostaseis*" as definitely excluding the Sabellian idea that the Son and the Spirit are merely modes of the Father's manifestation in the world. At the same time they made it perfectly clear that they had guarded the profound religious truth for which the Council of Nicaea had contended, the truth that mankind has been redeemed by a truly divine Person, and not by a demi-god. They did not make the Deity of the Son and of the Spirit appear vaguer, but plainer than before.

The Cappadocian Fathers.

S. Gregory of Nazianzum derives his name from a town in Cappadocia where his father was bishop. He

S. Gregory of Nazianzum.

was born in the village of Ariantinus, and educated in Neo-Caesarea, Palestine, Alexandria, and Athens. While at Athens, in 355, he studied rhetoric and philosophy simultaneously with Julian, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. At Athens he also formed his celebrated friendship with his fellow-lodger Basil. His ideal was like that of Origen, a combination of Greek culture with orthodox belief and an ascetic, contemplative life. He left Athens in 357 and devoted himself to a monastic life in Pontus with Basil. But when his aged father signed an Arianising creed, he went home and persuaded him to return to orthodoxy. He was ordained presbyter by his father in 360, but his highly strung nature shrank from the duties of his office and he retired into Pontus. Basil persuaded him against his will to become bishop of Sasima, "a disagreeable little village, all dust and noise." This was a mistake on the part of Basil, and it broke their old perfect intimacy. Gregory neglected Sasima in order to act as his father's coadjutor at Nazianzum, but when his father died, in 375, he declined to act as his successor. In 379 he was invited by the little band of Catholics at Constantinople to be their bishop. He accepted the call, and there in a private chapel, which he significantly called the Anastasia (church of the Resurrection), he delivered his five celebrated discourses on the Divinity of our Lord. The next year he was recognised by the emperor Theodosius as indeed the bishop of the capital, and presided at the great Council held at Constantinople in 381. A victim of disappointment and ill-health, he resigned his bishopric and his presidency of the Council and died at his native place in 390.

Besides his epistles and discourses, his most celebrated works are two Philippics against Julian, occasioned by that emperor's attempts to deprive the Christians of a classical education.

S. Basil.

S. Basil is one of the most tender and human of the saints. His life, like that of S. Gregory of Nazianzum, was largely determined by his family. His father, Basil, was a wealthy rhetorician at Neo-Caesarea, in Pontus; his mother, Emmelia, was the daughter of a martyr; and his father's mother, Macrina, remembered the last pagan persecutions. Basil's education corresponded closely with that of Gregory, except that he studied under the great sophist, Libanius, at Constantinople. At Athens he formed his friendship with Gregory, "the bond of their intimacy being a desire for the better things."[1] He returned home shortly before Gregory, and taught rhetoric at Caesarea. His fellow-citizens treated him with such consideration as to make him vain of his acquirements. His sister, the younger Macrina, skilfully rescued him from worldliness by inspiring him with a desire to study the monastic life. He at once set out to travel through Syria and Egypt with that special purpose. He returned in 358, a thorough monk, and devoted himself to a hermit's life in a romantic spot on the river Iris. He induced Gregory to pay him a visit, and Gregory has described his "mouse-hole" with playful irony.[2] Their devotions were diversified with mission-preaching to the people of the neighbourhood. This monastic life lasted till 364, though not without interruptions. He accompanied his Semi-Arian namesake, the bishop of Ancyra, to Constantinople in 360, and witnessed the

[1] *Carm. de Vita sua*, 226 ff. [2] Greg. *Epp.* 4, 5.

triumph of Homœan Arianism. He withdrew from communion with Dianius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who subscribed the formula of Nicé, but afterwards recanted. About 362, when Julian was on the throne, he was ordained presbyter, but incurred the selfish jealousy of his bishop, Eusebius. But in 365, when the Arian emperor Valens was menacing the Church, Eusebius called him to his side, and Basil the monk became the statesmanlike ecclesiastic. In 370 Eusebius died in the arms of Basil, and in spite of the opposition of slack laymen and intriguing bishops, the lofty-minded Basil became the metropolitan of Caesarea. His episcopate was painful, but magnificent. The manliness of his bearing completely baffled both the threats of the Arian praetorian prefect Modestus and the designs of Valens. His great intellectual power worsted every heresy, from Sabellianism on the one hand to ultra-Arianism on the other. He strove to bring East and West into harmony, and for this purpose endeavoured to induce Athanasius and Damasus, bishop of Rome, to recognise Meletius as bishop of Antioch. He lost the friendship of Gregory by his indiscreet selection of him as bishop of Sasima, and he was denounced as an Apollinarian by Eustathius of Sebaste, who had pretended to be a Catholic, and had been trusted by Basil as a friend. Crowned with disappointments, tormented by ill-health, and quivering under misrepresentations, he never lost his sympathy for other sufferers, a sympathy of which his noble hospital at Caesarea was a conspicuous, but not the only, proof. He died on January 1st, 379, without seeing the victory of the ideals for which he worked.

In addition to his epistles and a treatise on the

Holy Spirit, his most important works are a treatise against Eunomius, the *Philocalia* (a book of extracts from Origen, compiled by Basil and Gregory), the homilies on the Hexaemeron, or Six Days' Creation, and a monastic rule intended for the monasteries which he established in Pontus.

S. Gregory of Nyssa was the younger brother of S. Basil, and revered him as his master. The beginning and the end of his life are unknown to us. He was a rhetorician and a married man, but in 372 allowed himself to be consecrated by Basil as bishop of the small see of Nyssa. He was "one of those theologians who fail as bishops," and before long Basil had to tell him not to be so silly, and pronounced him "totally inexperienced in Church affairs."[1] The Arians drove him from his bishopric, but he returned in triumph on the death of Valens. He was present at the important Council held at Antioch in 379, and at the Œcumenical Council at Constantinople in 381. He also preached the funeral oration of the princess Pulcheria in 385, and then that of the empress Placilla. We last hear of him at a Synod at Constantinople in 394.

S. Gregory of Nyssa.

As a theologian he surpassed his two elder companions. He was more deeply versed in Origen's teaching, but equally vigorous in opposing Arianism. He taught with great clearness and philosophic insight the co-eternity and co-equality of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, and contributed largely to the popularity of the "Cappadocian" theological distinctions. His chief works are his Catechetical Discourse, giving instructions for the conversion of Jews and

[1] Basil, *Ep.* 215.

heathens, his work against Eunomius, in twelve books, and his treatise on Common Notions, defending the doctrine of the Trinity on intellectual grounds.

S. Ambrose.

The most commanding figure in Western Christendom at this period was Ambrose, bishop of Milan, the Roman counterpart of S. Basil. He united orthodoxy with culture, and a zeal for Christian virtue with the dignity of a Roman gentleman. He is one of the few Christian bishops of whom it can be said that he was the adviser of three emperors and yet never became a courtier-bishop. He was born of noble family at Trier before A.D. 340 and educated at Rome. He was trained in that knowledge of jurisprudence which befitted a person preparing for a high civil office, and also in general literature and popular philosophy. In 373 he was appointed governor of Upper Italy, with a residence at Milan. His justice and urbanity rendered him so popular that on the death of the Arian bishop Auxentius, in 374, Ambrose was elected as his successor, though up till this time he was only a catechumen. He was baptised, distributed his money to the poor, and eight days afterwards was consecrated bishop. Probably no man ever rose more truly to a great occasion. As pastor and preacher, as the father of the poor and the oppressed, as the destroyer of heathenism and heresy, he exercised an unrivalled influence until his death in A.D. 397. He defeated the attempt of Symmachus to secure the restoration of the heathen altar of Victory, he opposed with extraordinary courage and success an attempt made by the Arian empress Justina to appropriate one of the churches of Milan, he supported Pope Damasus against his rival Ursinus, and the emperors Valen-

tinian II. and Theodosius against the usurpers Maximus and Arbogast.

Ambrose was highly esteemed by Theodosius. In April, 390, Theodosius heard of a disgraceful outrage at Thessalonica, where the mob murdered a commander of the forces and other officials. Theodosius meditated vengeance on the whole city, but was persuaded by Ambrose to promise that he would spare the offenders. But he changed his mind, and ordered a general massacre of the Thessalonians. He again changed his mind, and sent off a mandate recalling his order. But before his second message arrived, seven thousand persons had been massacred without any form of trial. Ambrose wrote a letter of remonstrance and rebuke to Theodosius, but the emperor came to church at Milan as if nothing had happened. Ambrose refused him admission until eight months afterwards, when the emperor promised that in future an interval of thirty days should elapse between a capital sentence and its execution. The repentant emperor did more than this; he publicly stripped off his ornaments and prostrated himself on the floor of the church with tears. And he was so much impressed by the conduct of the prelate who had shown no respect of persons that he declared that Ambrose alone deserved the title of a bishop.

The penance of Theodosius.

The sermons and the epistles of S. Ambrose are of importance. He also wrote hymns and introduced into Milan the Eastern practice of singing the psalms antiphonally. He wrote several expositions of Old Testament histories in an allegorical style. He wrote three ascetic works recommending virginity, and a book of ethics for the

Writings of S. Ambrose.

clergy called *De Officiis Ministrorum*. His dogmatic teaching on the Trinity and the Person of Christ shows the influence of Origen, Athanasius, Basil, and Philo.

We have already mentioned those Semi-Arians who were willing to admit that the Son is truly God, but refused to grant that the Holy Spirit is more than the highest of created and ministering angels. Under the leadership of Macedonius they had become a party of some importance, and they were now joined by Eustathius of Sebaste. He had been one of the Semi-Arian delegates who signed the Nicene Creed at Rome in 366; he had consulted Basil on his way to Rome, and after his return he was urged by Basil to sign an orthodox profession of faith. This he did not like, because he wished to be on good terms with the Arians, so he quarrelled with Basil in 373 and soon afterwards joined the Macedonians. He then accused Basil of Apollinarianism. The accusation was wholly false, but it was dangerous on account of the scandal which Apollinarius was giving by the wrong inferences which he drew from the Nicene Creed.

Macedonius.

Apollinarius, a conspicuous defender of the faith for which he had suffered, was an imposing and interesting personality. An acute thinker, a voluminous writer, acquainted with Hebrew, steeped in Greek learning, he was the friend both of the orthodox Athanasius and of the heathen Libanius. When Julian endeavoured to deprive the Christians of the advantages of a classical education, Apollinarius and his father set to work to put the whole of the Bible into the most characteristic forms of Greek poetry and dialogue, so that the Christians might never

Apollinarius.

lose a familiarity with the outward forms of Greek literature. About this time his opinions concerning the Person of Christ began to arouse suspicion. He had come to the conclusion that "two perfect things cannot form one," so that our Lord could not have both a human nature and a divine nature. Led astray by a false logic, he could not believe that Jesus Christ was consubstantial both with God and with man. He therefore denied that He was consubstantial with man. He accepted the Arian theory that Christ, though He had a human body, had no human rational soul; but whereas the Arians said that a *half*-divine Being united itself with this human body, Apollinarius said that a *truly* divine Being did so. By denying that Christ had a human soul with its mind and will, he thought that he had secured two things: first, the unity of Christ's Person, and secondly, His sinlessness. For the Word of God, he thought, would have become two persons if He had united himself to a human mind, and He would have made himself able to defy the will of God if He had taken a human will. The theory was meant to be reverent, and it was certainly ingenious. But it sacrifices the gospel to its false logic. It leaves us a Christ without human sympathy, without human trials, and without that human will by which He freely gave himself for us. Apollinarius meant to exalt Christ; in reality he degraded Him. The Cappadocian fathers were perfectly right in repudiating such a theology, for if the Son of God did not unite himself with a human soul, He only united himself with those qualities which we share with the lower animals.

Apollinarianism with Macedonianism was condemned at Rome by Damasus soon after 371. And a large

Council, held by Meletius at Antioch in 379, accepted the "Tome," or letter, of Damasus. The young Catholic party in the East thereby showed their doctrinal harmony with the most conservative Catholics in the West. Unfortunately, however, it was not until 398 that the bishop of Rome, under the persuasion of S. Chrysostom, recognised Flavian, the successor of Meletius, as rightful bishop of Antioch.

Council at Antioch, A.D. 379.

The growing approximation between the Catholics of the East and of the West was consummated by political events of the gravest importance. The death of Valentinian in 375 left his two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., Emperors of the West, and Valens Emperor of the East. Valentinian II. was a child of four, Gratian a spirited lad of sixteen. The torpid and stupid Valens was jealous of his nephew. Therefore, in 378, he determined by the unaided forces of the Eastern empire to quell the Gothic barbarians who were threatening the empire. The vile treachery with which the subordinates of Valens treated the trustful Goths then met with its reward. At Hadrianople the Goths inflicted on the Roman forces one of the most awful and decisive defeats which have been known in the history of the world, and Valens was burnt to death in a cottage in which he had taken refuge. The disorganisation of the empire was complete, and Gratian, with excellent common-sense, looked around him for a colleague, and selected a brave and capable Spaniard, Theodosius. Success soon attended the arms of the new emperor, but he fell sick at Thessalonica. He was baptised, he recovered his health, and lived to exercise a unique influence on Church and State.

Death of Valens.

CHAPTER XXII

THEODOSIUS: HEATHENISM: HERESY.

ON February 28th, 380, Theodosius, while still convalescent, issued his celebrated edict "to the people of Constantinople." In it he says: "We desire that all the nations who are governed by the rule of our Clemency, shall practise that religion which the Apostle Peter himself delivered to the Romans, and which it is manifest that the pontiff Damasus, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, do now follow: that according to the discipline of the Apostles and the teaching of the Evangelists they believe in the one Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in equal Majesty, and in the Holy Trinity." These alone are to be called "Catholic Christians," heretical conventicles are not to be called "churches," and heretics are to be chastised by the imperial power. After vainly endeavouring to induce Demophilus, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, to accept the Nicene Creed, the emperor ordered the Arians to quit the churches which they had occupied so long. Gregory of Nazianzum, whose gentleness and eloquence had already won many converts in the Eastern capital, was then enthroned as bishop of the great city in whose streets he had been pelted and insulted.

Theodosius was far too sensible to allow his own

personal fiat to seem to be the only reason for requiring the important dioceses of Antioch and Constantinople to agree with those of Rome and Alexandria. He therefore summoned the Council of Constantinople, which, though not intended to be an Œcumenical Council, has always been reckoned as the Second Œcumenical Council of the Church on account of the universal acceptance of its doctrinal decisions by Catholic Christendom. The Council of Constantinople met in May, 381. It met under the presidency of Meletius of Antioch, and consisted of 150 Catholic bishops and 36 Macedonians, or Pneumatomachians—a party of Semi-Arians who admitted the Divinity of the Son of God, but denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The latter, after persistently refusing to abandon their heresy, withdrew before the Council proceeded to its doctrinal business. Very soon after the opening of the Council, Meletius died, admired and beloved. He has always been recognised as a saint by the East and the West alike, and this recognition in the West is the more remarkable inasmuch as he died out of communion with Rome, which recognised Paulinus and not Meletius as the rightful bishop of Antioch. And then the Council was guilty of an injustice. Paulinus ought now to have been recognised as the sole bishop of Antioch, and this would have both healed the division of the Church at Antioch and wedded Rome to the East. The bishops, however, determined to elect Flavian as the successor of Meletius. Gregory of Nazianzum, the gentle and the just, objected. But his objections were overruled, and his own election criticised by Timothy of Alexandria. Gregory urged the bishops not to

Council of Constantinople.

contend on his account, and resigned his see with a pathetic farewell. Theodosius then selected as his successor Nectarius, a praetor, as yet unbaptised, one whose youth had not been undefiled, and who afterwards made himself conspicuous by checking auricular confession (see p. 406). Although the Council did not remove the personal difficulty which caused friction between the East and the West, it prepared for the closest doctrinal union. The bishops ratified the original Nicene Creed in the most solemn fashion, and their first canon condemned Arianism in all its shades, from Anomœanism to Macedonianisn. Apollinarianism and kindred heresies were also condemned. Three other canons were passed, regulating the constitution and government of the Church. The third canon contained the momentous enactment that the bishop of Constantinople should "hold the pre-eminence of honour after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome," a regulation which placed Constantinople above the more ancient sees of Alexandria and Antioch, and was regarded as obnoxious by Rome because it hinted that the primacy of the Roman Church was mainly derived from the secular pre-eminence of the city.

Elevation of Constantinople.

It has been eagerly discussed whether the Council set forth an expanded form of the Nicene Creed in addition to its ratification of the creed in the original form. The question is still undecided. On the whole it seems probable that an expanded creed, substantially the same as that which we call the Nicene Creed in our Eucharist, and combining the creed of Jerusalem with that of Nicaea, was recognised as orthodox at Constantinople in 381. That this "Constantinopolitan"

Creed was not formally authorised as on a level with the original Nicene Creed is all but certain.

Theodosius, in a law dated July 30th, 381, set his seal to the decisions of the Council, and thus the sixty years of unhappy strife which had raged concerning the doctrine of the Holy Trinity came to an end. The Christian doctrine of God had completely vindicated itself alike against heathen polytheism and Jewish Unitarianism. Moreover, by the repudiation of Apollinarianism the Church had made it plain that the essential Godhead of Jesus Christ was not to be maintained at the expense of His true manhood.

Immediately afterwards a Western Council was held at Aquileia, where two Illyrian bishops were deposed for Arianism. Both at Aquileia and at another Council held at Milan some vexation was shown on the ground that the Easterns had not properly adjusted the Antiochene schism, and a desire was expressed for the meeting of an Œcumenical Council. Theodosius did not approve. He summoned what may be called a second session of the Great Council to Constantinople in 382. To this Council belong two canons, which are the so-called fifth and sixth canons of the Council of 381. Theodosius summoned the Council for a third time at Constantinople in 383. He seems to have wished to make a final appeal for reconciliation to the Arians, a wish which was probably strengthened by a desire to prevent a religious schism between his new Gothic subjects and the older members of the Empire. Even Eunomius the Anomœan came with Ulfila the Gothic Arian missionary and many others. Theodosius tested the heretics with the perfectly fair question, "whether they would accept the

End of Greek Arianism.

authority of the Christian teachers who lived before the Arian controversy?" A babel of discord was the result, for some of the Arians were well aware that they could not safely appeal to antiquity. The discussion was, therefore, fruitless, and Theodosius then prohibited all gatherings for heretical worship in town or country. For two centuries Arianism remained powerful among the Goths. But it was fatally discredited among all cultured Christians until the sixteenth century, when it was revived in a new form by the Italian scholars Laelius and Faustus Socinus, the fathers of modern Unitarianism.

Paganism.

The fortunes of paganism after the death of Julian varied more considerably than might have been expected. Valentinian restored paganism to a state which was similar to that which it had occupied at the death of Constantine, and he is warmly praised for his toleration by the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus.[1] Constantius had in many cases deprived the temples of their property and handed it over to the churches. Julian gave it back to the temples. Valentinian determined not to favour one religion too obviously at the expense of the other, and claimed for his own private domain all the property which Constantius and Julian had treated in this fashion. He also confirmed or increased the privileges of the provincial pontiffs. He gave but little advantage to the Christians. For while he dispensed Christian soldiers from mounting guard at heathen temples, and forbade Christians to be condemned to fight as gladiators, he restrained the rights of asylum in the churches, and forbade clergymen to

[1] Ammianus, xxx. 10.

receive legacies from Christian women unless they were their lawful heirs.

Valens was much more anxious to attack Catholicism than paganism. He left the worshippers of the ancient gods in peace, and used their assistance to crush the believers in the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

Paganism under Gratian.

The accession of Gratian in 375 to supreme power in the West caused the first rupture of the official relations between the imperial authorities and paganism. His predecessors while directing Councils of the Church had also "bowed themselves in the house of Rimmon" by accepting the title of *Pontifex Maximus* and permitting the offering of heathen sacrifices. Gratian, with the courageous logic of youth, refused to don the robes of *Pontifex Maximus* when they were presented to him by the college of pontiffs in 375.[1] Men afterwards remembered that when he replied that it was unlawful for a Christian to wear those robes, the most venerable of the pontiffs uttered the prophecy, "If the Emperor does not choose to be hailed as Pontifex, there will, nevertheless, soon be a *Pontifex, Maximus.*" The five years' usurpation of Maximus (383–388) and the murder of Gratian himself were the fulfilment of the prophecy. He was a cultured and manly sportsman, who was in part a victim to his uncompromising Christianity. Gratian had not only refused a pagan title for himself, he had removed the image of Victory from the Roman Senate. That image had been removed before by Constantius; but it was soon restored, and remained in its place throughout the reigns of Julian and Valentinian. While it remained, the sena-

[1] Zosimus, iv. 36.

tors, aristocrats and pagans by tradition, felt that the Senate was still officially connected with the old religion. The removal of the image was a blow, if not to the consciences of the senators, at least to the prestige of paganism and their own pride of race. Gratian knew this, and he dealt the blow.

In the same year, 382, he made the rupture with paganism complete. By an edict of which the precise words have been lost, but which we can largely recover from Symmachus[1] and Ambrose,[2] Gratian withdrew the subsidies granted to the pagan priests and the Vestal virgins of Rome. The sums which had hitherto been spent on sacrifices were divided between the public treasury and the chest of the praetorian prefect, and the lands attached to the temples were confiscated. This attack on paganism at its centre caused the sending of a deputation, headed by Symmachus, to plead that the edict might be withdrawn. The Christian senators, with the help of Damasus and Ambrose, induced Gratian to refuse to give an audience to their pagan colleagues. Theodosius showed with the utmost clearness that it was his rooted resolve to destroy paganism, though he did not think it advisable to destroy it at one blow. Law after law was issued to encourage the spread of Christian influence, such as a law to prohibit any business in the courts or markets to be conducted "on the day of the Sun, which our ancestors properly called the Lord's Day"; the shows in the amphitheatre and the circus were also forbidden on Sunday, immorality was checked, women of evil life were forbidden to disguise themselves as consecrated Christian

Paganism under Theodosius.

[1] *Ep.* x. 3. [2] *Epp.* 17, 18, 37.

virgins, and Christian women and children were no longer allowed to become professional dancers. A pagan was allowed to become a Christian, but heavy legal disabilities were inflicted on a Christian who became a pagan. In 381 Theodosius forbade any sacrifice to be offered in a temple either by day or by night with a view to ascertaining the future. This law was meant to strike at the practice of divination, for which the preceding emperors had allowed some facilities. In 385 all inspection of the entrails of an animal by a heathen priest was severely prohibited. This did not literally amount to the suppression of animal sacrifices, but it implied the suppression of the very ceremony which made these sacrifices attractive to pagan eyes. Some of the most resolute pagans tried to disguise the old practice under the appearance of a banquet. Others contented themselves with burning incense in honour of their old gods. The temples were still open, and were still frequented by those who wished to pay to the gods the modest honours which the law permitted.

Pagan worship suppressed.

In A.D. 391 Theodosius took the next step. It was forbidden to sacrifice animals, and forbidden even to enter the temples and look at the statues. The emperor then deprived the temples of their property. It was this measure which provoked a great final protest from the pagans at Alexandria. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, set to work to transform the temple of Mithras into a church. The workmen discovered in the recesses of the temple the grotesque objects which were employed in the Mithraic ceremonies of initiation. These the Christians paraded through the streets and exposed to public

ridicule. The pagans rose in arms, fortified themselves in the temple of Serapis, and practised inhuman cruelties on the Christians whom they captured. The magistrates were unable to establish peace without the intervention of the emperor. He sent an imperial rescript granting an amnesty to the rebels, but ordering the destruction of the temples of Alexandria. The great temple of Serapis was reduced to a heap of rubbish, and a soldier, more daring than the rest of his kind, broke the huge image of Serapis with his battle-axe. The immoral sanctuaries of Canopus met with the same fate as the Serapeum.

The temples were now deserted or destroyed. But it was still possible to worship the old household gods, or to sing hymns, burn incense, and roast an ox beside a grove of trees on pagan holidays. In 392 even these ceremonies and practices were swept away. It was forbidden not only "to offer up an innocent victim to senseless idols," but also "to propitiate the Lares by fire, the Genius with wine, the Penates with sweet incense, or for such a purpose to kindle lights, throw frankincense on the fire, or hang up garlands."

Paganism still lingered for many generations. But its legal existence ceased in A.D. 392.

In 394 Theodosius became ruler of the West by virtue of his victory over the usurper Eugenius. And as soon as the decisive battle of the Frigidus was over, the emperor overturned the statues of Jupiter with which Eugenius had hoped to guard the passes of the Alps. For Eugenius, like his Frankish supporter Arbogast, was a pagan, and when they fell, the last recrudescence of heathenism failed. The same year the Olympian games were held for the last time.

Theodosius and heresy.

The laws of Theodosius against heresy were stricter than his laws against paganism. He treated heresy as rebellion, and from the first showed his determination to repress it, not by an increasing pressure such as he brought to bear upon heathenism, but by direct prohibitions. Towards Judaism he was tolerant, and in 393 showed his displeasure at the disturbance of Jewish worship and the destruction of synagogues. But towards anything of a semi-Christian character he was more severe. He was not content with the edict of 380, which declared his wish that all nations should agree with the faith of Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria. Laws in 381, 382, 384, 388, 389, 394, forbade the assemblies of Arians, Apollinarians, Macedonians, and Manichaeans. Yet he made distinctions between different grades of heresy. For while the Eunomians, or extreme Arians, were not even allowed to make or benefit by a will, the Homœans were treated with greater mildness. Even in 388, when they took advantage of the emperor's absence in the West to burn the house of Nectarius, archbishop of Constantinople, the Homœans were mildly punished and only forbidden to dispute about the faith.

The older heresies.

The Church at the close of the fourth century had not only to struggle against the more recent heresies of Arianism and Apollinarianism, but also against the heresies which arose at an earlier period. It is worth noting that just as the development of the Apostles' Creed was contemporary with the growth of heresies and with the orthodox cataloguing of heresies, so the development of the "Constantinopolitan" Creed was contemporary with

similar facts. In the West the chief authors of books on heresy were Philastrius of Brescia and S. Augustine. But more important in this department of theology was S. Epiphanius.

S. Epiphanius.

S. Epiphanius was born about 315 near Eleutheropolis, in Judaea. Much of his early life was spent with the monks of Egypt, and attractive Gnostic ladies vainly endeavoured to win him over to their errors before he was twenty years of age. He returned home and built a monastery, which was under his own direction. His piety and orthodoxy led to his election to the bishopric of Constantia (*i.e.* Salamis), in Cyprus, in 367. In this office he showed great zeal in the furtherance of Catholicism and monasticism. In 382 he went with Paulinus of Antioch and Jerome to the Council held at Rome. His last years were complicated by the Origenistic controversies and the tragedy of S. Chrysostom (see pp. 335, 340). He died in 403. He was a good linguist, knowing Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Coptic, and some Latin; he was well read, and he was honest. But he was also credulous and narrow-minded. He collected a great amount of material to illustrate the history and nature of many heresies, though his treatment of it is confused and arbitrary. His chief works are (i.) the Ancoratus (ἀγκύρωτος), a work expounding the doctrine of the Holy Trinity against Arianism, Sabellianism, etc.; (ii.) the Book against Heresies (πανάριον, medicine chest), which describes eighty heresies. It contains some valuable quotations from primitive writers, and throws much light on the heresies of the fourth century.

The old heresies which belong to the rigorist stamp

include those of Montanus and Novatian, both of which had been flourishing one hundred years earlier. The Montanists were still numerous in the East, and had founded a branch of their Church in Rome. They adopted a Sabellian view of the Trinity, and in 398 their assemblies were prohibited.

Rigorist heresies.

Many of the Montanists in the course of the fourth century appear to have joined the Novatians, who were spread over a very large part of the Empire. The orthodoxy of the Novatians was demonstrated at the time of the Council of Nicaea, when Constantine urged their bishop Acesius to unite with the Catholic Church. On his refusal Constantine administered to him the humorous advice that he ought to set up a ladder and go to heaven by himself. But the Novatians and the Catholics remained on excellent terms, sharing in the same persecution at Arian hands, and being willing to die for one another. This sect differed from the Catholics in nothing but their denial that the Church had the power to forgive mortal sin, and their refusal to admit grave offenders to the discipline of penance. The historian Socrates, who makes many sympathetic references to the Novatians, tells us that in Phrygia certain members of that sect determined to keep Easter at the time of the Jewish Passover.[1] Early in the fifth century the friendliness of the Catholics towards the Novatians began to be laid aside. In the West the Emperor Honorius and Pope Innocent I. took measures for their suppression, and Pope Celestine shut up their churches in Rome. In the East they were first assailed by S. Cyril, who shut up their

Novatians.

[1] *H. E.* iv. 28.

churches in Alexandria in 414. Remnants of the Novatian sect survived until the seventh century.

Far more antagonistic to the Church than the Novatians was the sect of the Donatists. Like the Meletians of Egypt, the Donatists date from the persecutions at the beginning of the fourth century. But while the Meletians failed to retain any large following, the Donatists succeeded in becoming the distinctive national sect of Africa, more especially of the country districts of Numidia. After 321 Constantine decided to treat them with forbearance, and they took the opportunity to consolidate themselves under the second Donatus, surnamed "the Great." He was as able as he was proud, and it became a common Donatist oath to swear "by the white hair of Donatus." He not only held that only "his party" was the Church of Christ, but rebaptised all his Catholic converts. In a country where taxation was excessive, and where the system of farming by slaves existed on the largest scale, the Donatists found crowds of fanatical peasants and runaway slaves to join them as "soldiers of Christ." Their numbers were so great that in 330 they held a Council of two hundred and seventy bishops, and still they grew, until the movement threatened to become a Peasants' War, such as devastated Germany at the epoch of the Reformation. In 348 the Emperor Constans sent two commissioners with gifts to relieve the African poor and to exhort the Donatists in a friendly manner to return to the Church. But Donatus of Carthage protested against his followers accepting these gifts, and another Donatus, bishop of Bagai, stirred up armed resistance against the commissioners. A horde of

Donatists.

Donatist braves, speaking only Punic,[1] armed with huge clubs and calling themselves Circumcellions, or Agonistici, fell on the soldiers who attended the commissioners, and under the name of religion began a social revolution. Donatus of Bagai was executed, and Donatus the Great was banished. The commissioner Macarius adopted rigorous measures—Donatist worship was forbidden, and many Donatists submitted to the Catholic bishop of Carthage, Gratus. But Donatism was only slumbering; it was by no means dead.

Circumcellions.

When Julian came to the throne the exiled Donatist bishops returned, and their followers were frantic with exultation and revenge. Catholic prelates were driven from their churches, altars were broken, and the holy sacrament was thrown to the dogs.[2] The story is told us by Optatus, Catholic bishop of Mileve, who wrote against Parmenianus, a Spaniard, who became the Donatist bishop of Carthage. Under Parmenianus the heresy flourished, and though Gratian, in 378, forbade the assemblies of the "rebaptisers," the prohibition remained on paper. The Donatists even kept their conventicle in Rome, where they denounced the pope as a pagan, and were themselves known as the "Montenses," or hill-folk, on account of the situation of their church on a hill outside the city walls. Serious differences, however, now showed themselves among the Donatists. About 380 the grammarian Tyconius endeavoured to teach mildness to the Donatists, and urged that they should recognise the validity of Catholic baptism. He was censured

[1] Aug. *Ep.* 108 *ad Macrobium*, c.v. § 14.

[2] Optatus, *de Schismate Donatist.*, ii. 17-19.

by Parmenianus, but his theory was not silenced, and in 393 Primianus, the successor of Parmenianus, was accused of favouring a laxer discipline and even of giving holy communion to those who had been guilty of incest. The leader of the rigorist party was Maximianus, who was set up against Primianus as Majorinus had been set up against the Catholic Caecilianus eighty years before. Schism was thus punished by schism, and the way was prepared for the work of S. Augustine.

Gnostic heresies of the ancient type still survived. Epiphanius knew of Gnostics in Italy, Egypt, and many other countries. But Gnosticism had been to a great extent supplanted or absorbed by the great syncretist heresy which was spreading so vigorously at the close of the third century, Manichaeism. The further Manichaeism penetrated westwards, the more Christian became its clothing. It remained, however, essentially heathen in its theosophy and its dualism. Its attractive power can be estimated by the fact that in spite of its Oriental character it had strongly entrenched itself in the Latin part of Africa and in Rome. A literary conflict with Manichaeism was an imperative duty for the Church, and after 340 this conflict began in real earnest. George of Laodicea, Serapion of Thmuis and especially Titus of Bostra, are the Christian controversialists whose names deserve recording. In 372 Valentinian I. forbade the assemblies of the Manichaeans, and in 382 and 389 Theodosius threatened them with death. Still vigorous, and often unmolested, their heresy was branded as criminal in 407. The Vandal rulers of North Africa, especially

Gnostic heresies.

Manichaeans.

Hunneric, persecuted them with the utmost brutality, but the sect survived elsewhere.

A combination of Puritanic and semi-Manichaean rigorism may be found in the heresy of Priscillian, a very characteristic product of Spanish Christianity.

Priscillianism.

About 375 Priscillian, a wealthy Spaniard of noble birth, eloquent and keen-witted, gained a number of adherents in whom he sowed the seeds of a dangerous fanaticism. The Church of Spain was already an ancient institution, and the decisions of the Synod of Elvira show us at how early a period its members tended towards great laxity or great strictness. Priscillian was in favour of a thorough reform of Christianity on ascetic lines. He soon enjoyed the support of two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, and a troop of lay people, especially women. Priscillian, who began to teach as a layman, was then consecrated bishop of Avila, the town which in the sixteenth century was the home of the great Catholic reformer, S. Teresa. In 380 a Council was held at Saragossa, and the practices of the Priscillianists were condemned, such as deserting the churches for conventicles of their own, fasting on Sundays, refusal to receive the holy communion, and walking barefoot before the feast of the Epiphany. The schismatics remained defiant, and brought complaints against Hydatius (or Idacius) of Merida, a bishop who had been their most conspicuous opponent. The clergy of Hydatius himself had also made similar complaints, and to save himself from disgrace he procured from the emperor Gratian an edict "against pseudo-bishops and Manichaeans." He evidently wished to bring both the Priscillianists and his other opponents within the

range of laws similar to those which had prohibited that dangerous heresy in the East. The Priscillianists then appealed, and appealed in vain, to the bishops of Rome and Milan. Finally they turned to Gratian's "Master of the Offices," Macedonius. Perhaps they bribed him, as Sulpicius Severus says.[1] In any case Gratian annulled his edict, and the Priscillianists got possession of their churches once again. It also appears that they secured the departure from Spain of their opponent, Ithacius, a man who had supported Hydatius, and whose character foreshadowed the worst features of the later Spanish inquisitors.

A decisive change in the affairs of Priscillianism resulted from its connection with Maximus, the usurper who secured the murder of Gratian, and then, not satisfied with ruling the three great Western provinces which had been ruled by Gratian, attempted to usurp authority over the whole Empire of the West. The Priscillianists had resumed possession of their churches, but, in the meantime, Ithacius found a protector in the bishop of Trier, accused the Priscillianists of magic, and said that their doctrines were derived from Marcus, a Manichaean of Memphis. Maximus, who had established himself at Trier, then gave orders that the Priscillianists should be tried before a Council at Bordeaux.

The Council met in 384, and deposed Instantius. But Priscillian disputed the right of the Council to decide the case and appealed to the emperor, possibly because the charge of magic involved a criminal offence. He and his followers were therefore brought back to Trier, where

[1] *Dial.* iii. 11.

the last act in the drama was played. It included a remarkable contest between the worldly Hydatius and Ithacius on the one side and S. Martin of Tours on the other. S. Martin appears to have won the respect of Maximus in spite of his refusal to sit at table with the emperor who had murdered Gratian, and he begged Maximus not to shed the blood of the Priscillianists. The anti-Priscillianists took advantage of S. Martin's personal asceticism and his charity towards Priscillian, and accused him of holding the same heresy. Nevertheless, Maximus promised Martin that the accused should not be put to death, and Martin left Trier. He broke his promise, wishing to fill his treasury with the gold of the rich Priscillianists and to secure the support of the Spanish bishops. Priscillian, a lady named Euchrotia, and five other persons were put to death. As a fact which gives an additional touch of solemnity to the tragedy, it has been noted that Priscillian, who had himself said that "magicians ought to be cut off with the sword," and who was the first Christian teacher who advocated death as the punishment for superstition, was the first who suffered such a death. He died not as a heretic, but as a criminal; not for false doctrine, but for magic.[1] But both in his teaching and in his punishment he furnished an ominous precedent for future ages.

S. Martin of Tours.

There is one question which every student of Priscillianism is bound to ask, "Was it just or unjust to accuse the Priscillianists of being Manichaeans?" The answer seems to be that they were not consciously Manichaeans, but that their adversaries were not altogether

Was Priscillian a Manichaean?

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 50. Cf. *cod. Theod.* ix. 16.

unjust in describing them by that name. Priscillian's extant writings[1] are marked by language which suggests both Sabellianism and Apollinarianism; and the use of apocryphal books, the separation from orthodox worship, and the exaltation of "teachers" and prophecies of their own, would combine to arouse legitimate suspicions against the Priscillianists even if they had possessed no esoteric teaching which they concealed from the uninitiated. But sixty years later than Priscillian their doctrine included a Pantheistic view of the human soul, a Docetic theory of Christ's Person, and a Gnostic dualism which led to the rejection of marriage and of meat. And it is hard to resist the conclusion that some of these errors date back to Priscillian himself. The refusal to receive holy communion in the Catholic churches and the observance of Christmastide as a period of penance point distinctly to a denial of the reality of our Lord's body; and the custom of fasting on Sunday equally points to a denial of the bodily resurrection of our Lord. If these indications can be trusted, the Priscillianists were guilty of the same fundamental error as the Manichaeans and all the Gnostics.

[1] Eleven Tractates of Priscillian, published by G. Schepss in *Corpus Script. ecclesiast. latinorum*, xviii. Vindobonæ, 1889.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CLERGY AND MONASTICISM

DURING the fourth century the Catholic Church gradually became the State Church of the Roman empire. The process of this development was unlike that of the State Church of England, where only a short period elapsed during which Christianity was on trial in the several kingdoms before it was adopted as the religion of each, and then naturally became at once the religion of the United Kingdom. In England the "body politic" or "State" was from the first both "ecclesiastical and civil," or composed of "spiritualty and temporalty," under the supremacy of the king. It was assumed that members of the State would necessarily be members of the Church, and that the king would see that his subjects obeyed the laws of the spiritualty. But in the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, paganism was tolerated. It was not until the time of Theodosius I. that it became roughly accurate to say that the same people who were in one capacity the civil State were in another capacity the Church; so far as the Church was confined, and it mostly was confined, within the borders of the empire. It was then natural and fitting that the people in both capacities should be headed by a sovereign who was the sign of this unity.

Church and State.

Before the unity became an identity it was an alliance. Church and State were connected before they became one body, and imperial edicts and rescripts determined their external relations. No formal contract was made between the Church and the State for their mutual advantage, but something of the nature of a contract did exist.

The Church was equipped with certain important rights, receiving protection, property, and privileges, and in so doing it was necessarily reduced to a certain dependence on the State. And the emperor, as the principal lay member of the Church and absolute monarch of the State, became the connecting link between the two institutions and exercised over the Church an imperial supremacy. It was Constantine and not the Church who had fashioned that great organ of the Church's unity, the Œcumenical Council, and thus the emperors acquired a right to set the Church's machinery in motion. All the seven Œcumenical Councils without exception were summoned by the imperial power. This power was also shown in the prohibiting certain officials (decuriones) from entering holy orders, in fixing the age of deaconesses, and forbidding the translation of the relics of martyrs. The emperor was also recognised as having jurisdiction over the clergy. Athanasius, when wrongly deposed, appealed to Constantine, and his action resulted in a vain prohibition of such appeals by the Eusebian synod of Antioch in 341 (canon 12). The emperor might, and did, appoint commissioners to exercise a guiding influence at synods when an ecclesiastic was being tried. This was done when Eutyches was tried at a synod at Constantinople in 448, and imperial commissioners interposed to secure

fair play at the subsequent Council of Chalcedon. The emperor also exercised an important influence in the appointment to the chief bishoprics of the empire. He might propose a new bishop or strongly support one chosen candidate, as in the case of Ambrose's election. The Arian emperor Constantius abused his power so as to remove bishops at his own caprice.

The power of the emperor over the Church varied in East and West. It was less in the West on account of the greater independence of the Latin-speaking races, the greater genius of the Romans for organisation, and the exalted position of the bishop of Rome. But in matters both of faith and discipline, as well as in judicial matters, the authority of the emperors was everywhere important. That they occasionally abused this authority and attempted to interfere with the actual teaching office of the bishops cannot be denied, but similar abuses of authority have probably taken place in every kingdom where the Church has been established as the religion of the State.

Property of the Church.

Constantine gave to the Church large presents of landed property, and also supplies of corn in order to relieve the needs of the poor. Christian churches received grants of land which had formerly belonged to heathen temples, and also portions of communal property. Especially important was Constantine's law of 321, by which the Catholic Church was made capable of receiving legacies. In 370 Valentinian I. was obliged to issue a law to prevent underhand dealing on the part of the clergy or monks who were desirous of gaining such legacies. This did not affect legacies to the Church, which were actually increased by the restraining of legacies to

individual clergymen. And as Church property remained inalienable, it suffered no diminution worth mentioning in comparison with its increase. In order that the clergy might fulfil their mission to society, Constantine gave them certain privileges which had hitherto belonged to the pagan priests. His successors followed the same principle, though they sometimes restricted these privileges when they found that they were abused.

Privileges of the Clergy.

1. The clergy were given a special rank. They were granted particular *immunities*, that is, they were freed from the *munera sordida*, such as the liability to convey corn or other necessaries for officials and soldiers, and from the *munera civilia*, public offices which were honourable but burdensome. The latter immunity was counted such a boon that men of wealth began to obtain minor ecclesiastical posts in order to gain exemption from office. The law was therefore modified so that the clergy were obliged to find substitutes, or part with some of their property. The clergy and their families were exempted from paying the poll-tax, which was levied on all citizens between the ages of fourteen and sixty-five, except such as were granted immunity. In 343 Constantius also freed the clergy from the trading tax, so that the inferior clergy could trade freely, provided their operations were confined within limited bounds. This immunity was abolished by Valens, but partly restored by Gratian. It is plain that the Church felt strongly, as S. Cyprian had felt, that the clergy "cannot attend to their religious work and to worldly cares also," and bishops, presbyters, and deacons were only allowed to follow secular employments in very exceptional circumstances, and on

condition that they were primarily bound to perform the Church's work.[1]

2. The clergy were allowed privileges in connection with legal jurisdiction. The bishops were allowed to exercise a spiritual discipline over clergy and laity alike, and this discipline was exercised over high officials of the State and, as the case of Theodosius testifies, might be applied to the emperor himself. When the clergy were guilty of such offences against morality as were civil crimes they fell under the jurisdiction of the civil courts. But about 370 Valentinian allowed bishops to be judged by a synod of bishops when guilty of moral offences. The bishops were allowed by Constantine a coercive jurisdiction in civil causes. Both parties of litigants had to consent to carry their suit before the bishop, but when his sentence was given it was final, and was executed by the secular authorities. The burden of judicial business became so heavy that even in S. Augustine's time it was devolved upon presbyters. After 412 civil suits between clerics were decided entirely by the bishop's court.

According to the laws of the Roman empire, witnesses might be scourged or otherwise tortured in order to extract the truth from them. Theodosius exempted bishops and presbyters from this liability, though with some ambiguity. Finally, bishops were allowed to act as intercessors in criminal cases. The right probably began with the action of courageous bishops interceding on behalf of the accused in order to protect them from uncontrolled and despotic power.

[1] On the Clergy and Secular Employments see W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, pp. 243 ff.

Instances of such intercession are Flavian's interceding with Theodosius for the people of Antioch, and S. Augustine interceding with the tribune Marcellinus on behalf of the fanatical Circumcellions. Bishops were also sometimes allowed the right of giving sanctuary to accused persons. The privilege rested on imperial authority, and was specially attached to the altar of the church. This right of asylum or sanctuary was in no way intended to obstruct justice, though in course of time it became so abused. It was originally intended to protect men from violence until their case was tried. Theodosius II. extended the right to the entire precincts of churches.

The general result of the privileges granted to the clergy was inevitably to make them a class apart, sharply separated from most of the laity. They were therefore exposed to one of two streams of influence. If, on the one hand, they loved power and money, they had more opportunities for gratifying their ambition than other men of the world. If, on the other hand, they saw the value of a strenuous Christian life, they were inclined to adopt a very strict and specifically clerical type of virtue. From this cause there came a gradual assimilation of the life of the secular clergy to that of the monastic orders.

Origin of monasticism.

The beginning of monasticism can be traced back to the third century after Christ. The later Greek philosophy had combined a system of religious contemplation with a stern mortification of bodily desires, and as early as the apostolic age many of the Jews in Egypt led a solitary and austere life of chastity, prayer, and watchfulness. Under the influence of Origen the desire of

contemplation and of flight from the world to God was instilled among the Christians of Alexandria. This desire was closely connected with a high appreciation of virginity. Methodius taught that the incarnation of our Lord was in a measure repeated in the virgin souls that love Him. And about 300 Hieracas, an unorthodox follower of Origen, organised a society of learned ascetics in Egypt. Apart from the influence of Origen, men were led to seek in the solitude of the desert the peace of soul to which they could not attain elsewhere. Hence began the life of the Christian hermits: a life which the writers of the fourth century believed to have been inaugurated by S. Paul of Thebes in 250, and his famous successor, S. Antony, who became a hermit about 285, and died at a great age in 356. Antony visited Alexandria in 311 during the persecution of Maximian, but did not win the martyrdom which he desired. He again went there in 351, during the Arian persecution, and was gazed at as a wonder by pagans and Christians alike. It is worth noting that Antony was a Copt, and that the names of the most noted monks of Egypt are usually Coptic and not Greek.

In Antony's lifetime a momentous change passed over monasticism. The Church was established by the State, with the result that the world began to pour into the Church. The spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm, which had led men willingly to offer themselves to a martyr's death, now urged them to offer themselves to a martyr's life of self-renunciation. Hence we find a great increase in the number of hermits or anchorites, especially in the Nitrian desert to the north-west of Cairo, and in the Scetic desert further north. Ammon and Macarius the Great

were the great organisers of this type of monasticism. Another type was that of the cœnobites, or members of the "common life," men who formed a community inhabiting one home and sharing the same meals. This system was started by Pachomius. He was born of pagan parents about 292, was enrolled as a soldier under Constantine, and after his conversion became a pupil of a pious hermit named Palamon. The first monastery of Pachomius was at Tabennîsi, and he was able to found eight others. His sister Mary founded two convents for women. The monks of Pachomius led a simple life with simple rules. No vows seem to have been exacted from the candidates, and the system was much wiser and much milder than those devised by many founders of later monastic orders. Manual labour and the study of the Bible were duties laid on all the monks. Each monastery contained several houses, and each house devoted itself to some useful trade. Prayers were offered thrice a day; on Wednesdays and Fridays the head of each house gave an address to his spiritual household. On Saturday the monks of Tabennîsi attended the Eucharist at the village church, and on Sunday the village priests came to celebrate in the monastery.

Pachomius died in 346. His monastic rule was completed by his successors, Theodore and Horsisi. It was written in Coptic, but a Greek translation was sent to S. Jerome, and through S. Jerome and Cassian the rule of Pachomius gave birth to Western monasticism. It failed to satisfy the more ardent spirits among the Egyptian Christians, and a much stricter order was founded by two celebrated monks named Bgoul and Schnoudi. The latter died in 452.

In the more remote countries of the East we find far wilder types of asceticism. In Syria S. Symeon Stylites lived for thirty years on the top of a lofty pillar, and preached repentance to the Saracens who flocked to hear him. He died in 460, and there still exist large remains of the great cruciform church which was built around his pillar. He was followed by numerous imitators. In the neighbourhood of Nisibis the "Boskoi" distinguished themselves by eating nothing but grass, herbs, and roots. Another more dangerous sect was that of the "Euchites," known also as the "Messalians." They did no work, and lived by begging. Their principles were antinomian, and their mystic dances won for them their later title of "Choreutae." They show us the nearest ancient Christian parallel to the dancing dervishes of modern Turkey. Although certain of the pillar-hermits exercised a good influence on the barbarians, who admired peculiar forms of asceticism, all the more extravagant forms of monasticism were a real danger to the Church. The "solitary" life practically ignored the fact that it is only as the member of a society that the Christian realises his full spiritual privileges. Individualism and private judgment were carried to such an excess that important moral truths were neglected, and with this neglect there arose a tendency to disregard the sacraments which emphasise those truths.

Monasticism in the Far East.

The life of Eustathius of Sebaste forms a pivot in the history of Greek monasticism. It shows us a conflict between a false individualism and the good sense of the authorities who tried to prevent asceticism from degenerating into pride and folly. Hitherto there had been

Monasticism in the Greek World.

little or no real conflict between the monks and the clergy. The work of Pachomius had been regarded with some suspicion by the clergy of the Thebaid, but these suspicions were not long-lived. And no ground for supposing that pious and orthodox bishops were opposed to monasticism is afforded by the history of Audius,[1] a contemporary of Arius, who denounced the worldliness of the clergy and founded an ascetic sect holding an Anthropomorphite doctrine concerning God. But in the case of Eustathius we find definitely that a synod held at Gangra in Paphlagonia about 340, condemned the practices of a party which he had founded. The Eustathians condemned marriage, avoided public services at which married clergy officiated, fasted on Sundays, held schismatical meetings, prided themselves upon wearing a peculiar dress, and induced women to adopt some form of male attire, apparently to show that in such a holy community the distinctions of sex were abolished.

Eustathius of Sebaste.

The synod of Gangra condemned all these practices, and also denounced the habit of parents deserting their children or children their parents on the plea of asceticism, the practice of women cutting off their hair, and the separation of husbands and wives. All this was condemned without any slur being cast upon "the beauty and holiness of virginity." It is also interesting to observe that the synod of Gangra condemned the Eustathians for not observing the regular fast-days of the Church, and for neglecting the commemoration of the martyrs.

After A.D. 350 Eustathius became bishop of Sebaste in Armenia and a leading Semi-Arian prelate. So far

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* 70.

as we can gather from Sozomen[1] and S. Basil,[2] he tried to propagate his principles in his diocese, and had considerable influence in the eastern part of Asia Minor.

Eustathius belonged only to the borderland of the Greek world, and of the Greek creed. S. Basil belonged to the very centre of them both, and was the author of a thoroughly Hellenic type of monasticism. He was friendly with Eustathius so long as it was possible to be friendly with one whose opinions on the Christian creed were so tortuous and fickle, and he probably owed to him his first impulse towards monasticism. The impulse was strengthened by the wish to escape from a corrupt civilisation to the charms of nature, from the noise of parties to quiet philanthropy, and from imperial tyranny to communion with God. Like Pachomius he saw that the "common life" of a religious order was morally superior to that of a hermit. But he also intentionally built his monastery near to a town and connected it with a hospital and schools. His position and his piety equally contributed to make him the father of Greek monasticism. As a bishop of the highest reputation he was able to remove the mistrust which the clergy sometimes felt towards the monks as revolutionary lay enthusiasts. As a scholar who owed much to Origen he valued the mystical contemplation of God which Origen had fostered. And as an orthodox theologian he knew that spiritual communion with God is realised through the Incarnation and the sacraments. It was no mere chance that made the monastic rule of S. Basil spread through orthodox Eastern Christendom. It was

S. Basil.

[1] *H. E.* iii. 14, viii. 27. [2] *Epp.* 223, 226.

necessary for the Church to find room for this form of an ascetic life, and it was necessary for monasticism to be chastened and sanctified by the ordinary means of grace.

In 451 the Council of Chalcedon passed a measure which secured the connection of monasteries with the organisation of the Church by directing that no monastery should be erected henceforth without the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and that the priests of a monastery must be subject to the bishop. And, on the other hand, the monasteries were assured of reasonable independence by the regulation that no monastery erected with the bishop's approbation should be abolished or its property diminished.

Both the hermit life and "the common life" found their way into the West in the fourth century. They seem to have been preceded by a more primitive monasticism. Societies of virgins under the guidance of a widow were already known in the West, and S. Jerome speaks of the existence of unorganised societies of monks named Remoboth.[1] Nevertheless, it was the intercourse between Catholics of the East and the West during the fourth century which created a definite Western monasticism. S. Athanasius, while in banishment at Rome in 341, brought thither the knowledge of Egyptian monasticism. But it was S. Jerome who personally awakened the first enthusiasm for the new ideal in Rome after his travels in the East. His success in persuading Roman ladies of high rank to flee from the pleasures of the world provoked a violent opposition among all classes of society.[2] The influence exercised by the

Monasticism in the West.

[1] Hieron. *Epp.* 22, 34. [2] *Ep.* 39, 5.

literature of monasticism was also considerable. S. Jerome and Rufinus promulgated monasticism by their pens, and the famous *Life of Antony*, by S. Athanasius, which converted the young officials at Trier mentioned by S. Augustine, made a deep appeal to the sentiment of the age. Eusebius of Vercellae, who had been banished to the East by Constantius, was one of the first importers of monasticism into northern Italy, and S. Ambrose, who was in close touch with Eastern theology, promoted monasticism at Milan. It was Martin, a native of Pannonia, who had lived as a monk in Milan and then in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, who introduced monasticism into northern Gaul. He became bishop of Tours in 375, and was particularly successful in uprooting heathenism. Several cities obtained bishops from among the students of his monastery. In southern Gaul John Cassian established a monastery and a nunnery at Marseilles in 415. He was educated in the monastery at Bethlehem, and spent some time with the hermits of Egypt. He wrote two works on monasticism of great importance. The first is the *De Institutis Cœnobiorum*, dealing with the lives, experiences, and temptations of the monks of the East, and especially of Egypt. The second is the *Collationes Patrum*, which reports conversations of Cassian and his friend Germanus with various saints of the desert. He also wrote an important book on the Incarnation, combating Nestorianism and the kindred heresy of Pelagianism.

The foundation of the monastery of Lerinum in Gaul by Honoratus about A.D. 410, and the establishment of a "common life" at Hippo by S. Augustine are further waymarks in the history of Western monasticism. We

learn from Sulpicius Severus and Salvian that in Gaul Spain, and Africa monasticism at first experienced the same strong opposition as in Rome, an opposition far exceeding anything which it encountered in the East.

In spite of the fact that Western monasticism was imported from the East, it lived in a different atmosphere and passed through a very different evolution. The monastic life was still an endeavour to flee from a sinful world, to erect a society outside society, and to serve God only. But in the West it both had a history and made history. In the East it too often wasted itself in "sacred selfishness" and mystical contemplation. In the West it trained the valiant bishops who served the Church in the days of the great barbarian migrations. It preserved learning and founded centres of education. Again and again it was a monk who saved a tottering Christianity from falling. And whatever have been the failings of the great religious orders of the West, it will remain true that the best monks were reservoirs of moral force. They taught men that "the best way to 'do good' is often to make ourselves better," and that before we can satisfy the spiritual thirst of others we must acquire some spiritual fulness for ourselves in solitude and meditation.

Marks of Western monasticism.

The popularity of monasticism had a marked effect upon the secular clergy by giving a great impetus to the movement in favour of clerical celibacy. In S. Paul's time it was considered enough to enact that the *episkopos* should be the husband of one wife, which signifies that he should not marry more than once. This rule was generally maintained in the early Church. But about A.D. 300 the Apostolic Church

Clerical celibacy.

Order says in regard to a bishop: "It is good that he should be unmarried, but, if not, one who has only had one wife." And from this period onwards we find that pressure began to be put upon the married clergy to abstain from intercourse with their wives, and that efforts were made to discourage the ordination of married men. In the meantime certain priests had popularised an unfortunate practice of living in the same house with Christian women in what was intended to be a merely brotherly relationship. Paul of Samosata was accused of this habit, and S. Chrysostom found it a difficulty still existing in 398. It was strongly and rightly condemned by S. Cyprian and S. Jerome and forbidden in 325 by the Council of Nicaea.

At the Council of Nicaea Paphnutius protested successfully against a proposal to forbid intercourse between presbyters and their wives, and about 375 the Apostolic Constitutions took a similar line. It became the ordinary rule in the East, and has remained the ordinary rule, that deacons and priests should be allowed to marry before their ordination, and that bishops should be chosen from among celibates. Yet even the bishops were sometimes married. The two sons of the elder Gregory of Nazianzum were born after he became a bishop. S. Gregory of Nyssa was consecrated bishop in spite of being a married man, and in 410 the celebrated Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, refused to accept office unless he were allowed to retain his wife, and he expressed the hope that he might have "a large number of virtuous children."

In the West the course of legislation was different, and a great effort was made to enforce clerical celibacy. The Council of Elvira in Spain, 306, ordered bishops,

presbyters, and deacons to abstain from intercourse with their wives. And in 385 Siricius, bishop of Rome, accepted this rule in his decretal to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona. A synod at Carthage about 390 extended the rule to Africa. Innocent I. in 404 made it binding on the Roman clergy. Sub-deacons were included under the rule by Leo I. in 446. In the West opposition to this legislation had little chance of success. It was vigorous enough, but it came from writers who were regarded with suspicion.

Opposition to celibacy.

One was Helvidius of Milan and Rome, who wrote against the perpetual virginity of S. Mary. Another was Jovinian of Rome, who though a monk, renounced the monastic life, and attacked celibacy with such vigour that many consecrated virgins of mature years were induced to marry. Jovinian also anticipated some of those opinions concerning the relation between faith and works which first obtained a wide currency in the sixteenth century, and taught that a person baptised with the Spirit as well as water cannot be overthrown by the devil. If his devotion to "pheasants and pork" was such as Jerome suggests, his arguments against austerity were not likely to carry conviction in thoughtful circles. Jerome found that the views of Jovinian were inherited by a third opponent, Vigilantius of Aquitaine, whom he sarcastically calls "Dormitantius." Vigilantius said that the life of a hermit was a cowardly flight from temptation, and, from what Jerome says, it appears that he advised that the clergy should be married before ordination. He had many adherents in southern Gaul even among the episcopate.[1] Of Jerome's reply to Vigilantius, a reply dictated in a single night,

[1] *adv. Vigilantium*, 2.

it has been said that it is "certainly the treatise in which Jerome felt most sure that he was in the right, and it is the only one in which he was wholly in the wrong." This is too harsh a judgment; but no one can read it without seeing that it contains passages which are undignified to the verge of indecency. Some excuse for his words may be found in the fact that the bishops in question had made marriage a necessary preliminary to ordination, on the theory that no unmarried man was likely to be chaste.

The Roman regulations with regard to clerical celibacy were widely ignored for centuries. In North Italy the clergy married "openly and legitimately" until the eleventh century; in Hungary their marriage was allowed at least as late as 1114, and in Sweden until 1213. In England we find that a Council of Winchester in 1076 required that all future candidates for ordination should remain unmarried, and a synod at Westminster in 1138 attempted to deprive all married clergy of their livings, In favour of this rule it can be urged that the laws against clerical marriage at that period were largely intended to put a stop to the abuse by which benefices were inherited as a patrimony by the sons of married priests. But abundant evidence exists to show that the enforcing of clerical celibacy led to new evils which were worse than the old.

NOTE.—For the history of early Monasticism, especially in Egypt, the reader is referred to Dom Cuthbert Butler, on the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, in *Texts and Studies*, vol. vi., No. 1, Cambridge, 1898.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GREAT SEES AND ORIGENISM

IN spite of many "fears within" and some "fightings without," the position of the Church during the fourth century was lofty and splendid. She commanded power and wealth, art and learning; while great names, such as those of Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, the Gregorys, and Basil, and Ambrose, compel every impartial student to see that in realising her title "Catholic" she had not forfeited her title "holy." But the prelates of the greatest sees would have been more than men if they had not occasionally yielded to the temptations of jealousy and ambition. Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, as Christian bishopries, were not only the centres of religious influences, but also the centres of different types of culture, and, to a great extent, of different types of nationality. We must bear the latter facts in mind if we are to show justice in discussing the controversies in which they were involved. For many a man who rises superior to mere personal jealousy or ambition, is not strong enough to resist the more subtle attraction of jealousies and ambitions which seem to him to be identified with the cause of his own national part of the Church.

Nationalism in religion.

The fact that the Church of Rome was now thoroughly

Latin was likely to prepare for a breach between Rome and the thoroughly Greek see of Constantinople. But there were other hidden elements of discord. Both politically and ecclesiastically the new capital, "New Rome," was a menace to the authority of the "Eternal City." The Council of Constantinople in 381 had deliberately placed that see next to Rome in dignity. This act had not been agreeable either to Rome or to Alexandria, which had hitherto held the second place in Christendom. Thus these two homes of Christian life, already united by immemorial tradition, frequent intercourse, and recent alliance against Arianism, were now united by a common irritation. This irritation was not untinged with contempt. Theodosius, in 380, had spoken of Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria as the two leaders of orthodoxy with whom all Christians ought to be in communion. But it was only natural that every emperor should wish to exert an influence on the Church, and that he should try to exert it through the bishop of the city in which he lived, Constantinople. And Constantinople had been under the guidance of such bishops as Eusebius, once of Nicomedia, Euzoius, and Macedonius. The cathedral church had reeked with heresy and adulation. The sees of Rome and Alexandria, which had, on the whole, borne the burden of the day so bravely, could not reasonably be supposed to entertain much respect for a younger rival, which had been so magnificently endowed and so conspicuously debased, and without a very vital controversy the relations between these three sees might easily be embroiled.

The first misunderstanding arose between Alexandria and Constantinople, and was caused by a controversy

concerning the study of Origen. The latter part of the fourth century witnessed a revival of interest in the works of the great Alexandrian theologian. When we remember the wide sympathy for Greek learning which was then felt in the Christian world, we see that a renaissance of Origenism was nothing extraordinary. But this renaissance gained strength from another source, which was simply the fact that the orthodox character of Origen's teaching about the Holy Trinity had been vindicated during the Arian disputes. The more moderate Arians had been trained in Origenistic centres, and they appealed to his teaching in order to support their doctrine of the inferiority of the Son of God to the Almighty Father. Speaking generally, we can say that they failed to make good the claim that Origen was on their side. The fact that he taught that the Son is consubstantial with the Father and is ever being begotten by the Father from all eternity, was fatal to that claim. It helped the cause of Athanasius, and not that of the Eusebians. And thus it came to be gradually recognised that Origen was orthodox with regard to the very heart of the great question which was then in dispute.

Revival of Origenism.

One man must specially be mentioned as having revived the study of Origen's works in Origen's own home. This was the famous Didymus, the blind teacher of the catechetical school at Alexandria. Blind from a little child, he was, nevertheless, a master of mathematics and theology, and was the superintendent of the school for more than fifty years. He died in 395, at the age of eighty-five. He was the author of works on the Holy Trinity

Didymus the blind.

and the Holy Spirit, of a commentary on the *de Principiis* of Origen, and of two books against the Arians, which have been wrongly attached to the two first books of S. Basil against Eunomius. He was visited by S. Jerome, his lectures were attended by S. Gregory of Nazianzum, and his influence on the theology of the time was increased by the fact that he taught under the very eyes of S. Athanasius.

The three Cappadocian fathers, S. Basil, S. Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Gregory of Nazianzum, completed the vindication of Origen's teaching about the Trinity by giving wider currency to the word *hypostasis* in the sense of *person*. It accorded with Origen's teaching to speak of three *hypostaseis* in one divine substance, but at Alexandria, early in the fourth century, *hypostasis* was used in the sense of substance, and thus to say that there are three divine *hypostaseis* was considered obviously heretical. But as the Cappadocian fathers in no way compromised either the unity of God or the equality of the divine Persons, their orthodoxy shed a reflected light upon the great teacher who had used a similar phraseology. Of these three brilliant and beautiful characters, Gregory of Nyssa was probably the ablest theologian, and his views were the most deeply rooted in those of Origen.

The three Cappadocian fathers.

To the Cappadocians we must add the name of Evagrius of Ibora, in Pontus, who was ordained deacon by Gregory of Nazianzum at Constantinople. Melania, the ascetic lady who was associated with the work of S. Jerome in Palestine, persuaded him to join the monks in the Nitrian desert in Egypt. Like Didymus, he was an Origenist. His

Evagrius Ponticus.

works included collections of the sayings of great ascetics, and a book called *Six Hundred Prognostic Problems*,[1] now wholly unknown to us. The mystical asceticism of Origen's own life and teaching perhaps attracted Evagrius into a sympathy with those portions of Origen's theology which the Church had not sanctioned. And on the other hand, among the inmates of the monasteries founded by Pachomius, and those situated in the Scetic desert, Origen was looked upon as the father of heresy. The opposition of these monks to a philosophic form of Christianity expressed itself in such crude theories about the Divine Being that they won for themselves the name of *Anthropomorphites*. Violent and rustic as these monks most certainly were, we must not imagine that opposition to Origenism was necessarily the mark of a bucolic or irrational belief. The influx of Neo-Platonists into the Church created a danger lest a fashionable and academic Christianity should smother the creed in Platonic speculation and propagate everything Hellenic in Origen while forgetting everything that was evangelical. With these monks of Egypt we must connect the name of S. Jerome.

S. Jerome.

Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, our "S. Jerome," was probably the greatest scholar of his age. He owed his eminence very largely to the fact that he was almost equally well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He was also an omnivorous reader, and possessed the rhetorical elegance of style which was so highly valued by his contemporaries. Born in 345, on the borders of Dalmatia, he studied at Rome and Trier, and after different journeys through

[1] Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 23.

Gaul, he formed at Aquileia his tragic friendship with Rufinus. He then went to the East, where he fell into a violent fever. While in this fever he thought he stood before the Divine Judge, who asked him, "Who art thou?" On his answering, "A Christian," he heard the terrible reply: "It is false; thou art no Christian: thou art a Ciceronian; where the treasure is, there is the heart also!"[1] He then devoted himself to Hebrew, and led the life of a hermit. From 382 to 385 he again lived in Rome, where he acted as the trusted friend, and perhaps secretary, of Pope Damasus. He was also the guest of a noble lady Paula, who with her daughter Eustochium and other earnest women formed a society devoted to the study of Scripture and the practice of asceticism. While in Rome Jerome wrote against Helvidius, who had denied the common belief of the Church that the Mother of our Lord was perpetually a virgin. He also wrote a treatise in praise of virginity, in which a reaction against the sins of his early life led Jerome to write passages which are little better than a coarse denunciation of marriage. The book was far from complimentary in its descriptions of the habits of the Roman clergy, and it aroused the enmity of so many priests and prominent families that on the death of his patron Damasus, Jerome found his position at Rome untenable. He then settled at Bethlehem, and founded an establishment of monks, over which he presided in person, and also an establishment of nuns, under the rule of Paula. There was a church in which they met on Sundays, and a hospice for pilgrims, who came in vast numbers to visit the holy places. Jerome's time was fully occupied with

[1] *Ep.* 22, c. 30.

devotion, with the care of the monastery and hospice, and his literary labours and controversies. Apart from Origenism, he wrote polemical treatises against Jovinian and Vigilantius. To the same division of Jerome's life belongs the Origenistic controversy, which will be described below.

The last period of Jerome's life extended from 405 to 420, and it was full of troubles. He offended Stilicho, the great Vandal general who protected the Roman empire, but the murder of Stilicho averted the revenge which Jerome naturally feared. Jerome was very poor, his best friends were dead, and though he continued his biblical studies, his eyesight was rapidly failing. He was not destined to die without finding another great controversy forced upon him. He had been connected in earlier days with some leading supporters of Pelagius, and more recently had been engaged in a friendly correspondence with S. Augustine, the great opponent of Pelagius. In 415 Pelagius himself came to Palestine, and both he and Orosius, a friend of Augustine, appealed to Jerome (see p. 357). Jerome was compelled to take a side, and wrote a *Dialogue against the Pelagians*. Its tone was milder than that of most of his controversial writings, and it maintained the coexistence of human free-will and divine predestination. Nevertheless, the partisans of Pelagius were irritated, and a band of them attacked and destroyed the monasteries of Bethlehem in 416. Jerome only escaped by taking refuge in a tower. He still continued his old work of ministering to pilgrims and writing commentaries. The Preface to the last, that on Jeremiah, shows a flash of his old controversial ardour in the description

Last period of S. Jerome's life.

of Pelagius as "swollen with the porridge of the Scots." He died September 20th, 420.

S. Jerome and the Vulgate.

In addition to his controversial and doctrinal treatises, and the brilliant letters which throw so much light upon the Church history of the time, Jerome composed an important *Catalogue of Illustrious Men*, with the purpose of refuting the calumny that only ignorant people embraced Christianity. In favour of monasticism he wrote the lives of Paul of Thebes, Malchus, and Hilarion. His numerous commentaries were written in haste and are largely composed of selections from other writers. But his monumental work was that which is known as the Vulgate, or *vulgata translatio* of the Bible. At the request of Damasus he began in Rome, about 382, a revision of the old Latin translation of the New Testament and the Psalms, using the Greek text of both. Of the Psalms he first published a revision which came into use in Rome (*psalterium romanum*), and then at Bethlehem, when he had studied Origen's *Hexapla*,[1] he published another revision, which came into use in Gaul (*psalterium gallicum*). After this he devoted himself from 390 to 405 to a completely new translation of the Old Testament. The total result was the Vulgate, containing a new translation of the Old Testament with the exception of the Psalter, the Psalter corrected with a knowledge of the *Hexapla*, and a revised translation of the New Testament. In spite of some opposition from those who favoured the Old Latin version, Jerome's Bible became the Bible of Latin Christendom.

Origen had found a second home in Palestine, and

[1] See above, p. 145.

here his memory was championed by John, bishop of Jerusalem, and the learned Latins, Jerome and Rufinus. But, soon after 390, Jerome, who was anxious for the reputation of being orthodox, was accused by a Western named Aterbius of Origenism. He disowned the charge by maintaining that he was only in sympathy with some of Origen's doctrines, and Rufinus, who was accused of the same error, first remained quiet and then vigorously attacked Aterbius. Then Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus and a veritable scourge of heresy, arrived at Jerusalem and zealously preached against Origenism. John then preached against anthropomorphism, whereupon Epiphanius called upon him to denounce Origenism. He declined to do so. The dispute between the two bishops now extended to the monks. Jerome and the monks at Bethlehem withdrew from communion with John, and Epiphanius in 393 (?) invaded John's rights by ordaining Paulinian, Jerome's brother, a presbyter to serve the monks at Bethlehem. A literary battle continued for some time, but it was nearly set at rest by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. He sent to Jerusalem an Alexandrian presbyter, Isidore, who was in sympathy with John. Jerome was not very friendly with Isidore, but he became reconciled to Rufinus, and they solemnly joined hands at a communion in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Theophilus, a strong-handed and ambitious prelate, had been on good terms with the Origenist monks, but soon after the death of Didymus he became less friendly to them. Severe pressure was brought upon him by the Scetic monks, and after writing a book in which he opposed both Origenism and anthropomorphism, he openly

The controversy in Palestine and Egypt.

passed over to the side of the anti-Origenists. At a synod held at Alexandria in 399, he forbade the reading of Origen's works, and in 401 he condemned his old Origenist friends the presbyter Isidore and four Nitrian monks, the pious and aged "tall brothers," Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius. Theophilus even employed a military force to clear out the Origenists from their desert home. It was an ignoble act on the part of Theophilus, all the more ignoble because the question then at stake was not any heresy of Origen, but his spiritual conception of God. The only excuse that can be made for his cruelty is that he was in genuine fear of a barbarous and sub-Christian party in his excitable Egyptian flock. The "tall brothers" and some fifty companions went to Constantinople A D. 401, and threw themselves at the feet of the bishop, John Chrysostom, begging that he would intercede for them with Theophilus (see p. 340).

The controversy in Italy.

In the meantime the literary battle over Origenism was carried from Jerusalem to Italy, where Jerome had already been previously denounced as an Origenist by his opponent Vigilantius. Rufinus went back to Italy in 397, and at the request of a certain Macarius translated into Latin the *Panegyric* of Pamphilus on Origen. He added an appendix, stating that the heretical passages in Origen were really interpolations by heretics. He next translated Origen's work, *de Principiis*, in an expurgated form, not only omitting passages which were at variance with orthodoxy, but referring to Jerome, his "brother and colleague," as a translator of Origen. Jerome was deeply offended. He thought that Rufinus had been guilty of a trick intended to compromise him in the

eyes of all who might read the translation. In return he wrote a literal translation of the aforesaid work of Origen in order that its heterodoxy might be evident. A very unpleasant controversy then arose between the two former friends. And though Siricius, bishop of Rome, had liked the translation of Rufinus, his successor Anastasius sided with Theophilus of Alexandria in 399, and summoned Rufinus to appear before his tribunal at Rome.[1] He excused himself from going on the ground of ill-health, and merely sent a written defence of a studiously orthodox character. He died in Sicily in 410.

Works of Rufinus.

The literary importance of Rufinus lies in his work of translating Greek theological works into Latin, and so influencing the West by the culture of the East. In addition to his translations from Origen he translated works of Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, and Evagrius Ponticus. He also translated the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea with a supplement which continued the story to 395. His chief original works are a commentary on the Apostles' Creed, an exposition of the blessing of Jacob in Genesis xlix., and his two books of Apology (or so-called "Invectives") against Jerome.

S. John Chrysostom.

Considering the jealousy felt by Alexandria towards Constantinople, the Egyptian Origenists were not very likely to gain much by the intercession of Chrysostom. In 380 the Egyptian bishops had induced the peaceable and eloquent Gregory of Nazianzum to resign the see of Constantinople. They had tried to replace him by a candidate of their own. In this attempt they were unsuccessful,

[1] Hieron. *Ep.* 95.

as the emperor appointed Nectarius, a man of high social standing, but unbaptised until he was chosen to be bishop.

On the death of this rather worldly prelate, in 397, the Alexandrian game was repeated. Theophilus tried to win the appointment for his presbyter Isidore (see p. 335). He failed. The Court secured the election of John Chrysostom, the least courtly and most single-minded ecclesiastic that ever owed his promotion to such patrons.

Chrysostom was born of a distinguished family at Antioch about 345, taught carefully by his mother Anthusa, and then polished by the instruction of the celebrated pagan Libanius. He studied the Scriptures under Diodore of Tarsus, in company with Theodore, afterwards the celebrated bishop of Mopsuestia. After living for a while in monastic retirement, he was ordained deacon at Antioch by Meletius in 381, and priest by Flavian in 386. He immediately became the popular preacher of the cathedral church, "the golden church," of that great city. The chief incident of this period of his life was the crisis caused by the insults offered by the people of Antioch to the statues of the emperor and empress. During the panic of suspense which followed, while the people did not know what punishment would be the price of the outrage which they had committed, Chrysostom preached against the besetting faults of the Antiochene Christians. Theodosius pardoned the offenders, and in the meantime the great preacher had produced a deep impression. His eloquence combined much of the art of Demosthenes with the fervour of S. Paul. But if he was a real orator, he was also a

true pastor, deeply convinced of the responsibility of his ministerial priesthood. In the earlier Greek theologians modern students have felt primarily a theological interest, even when, like Athanasius, they show moral qualities which deserve a genuine admiration. But S. Chrysostom, whose theology is saturated with Scripture and keeps a well-balanced mean between the allegorism of Alexandria and the criticism of Antioch, attracts men as a moral force. Chrysostom was the bishop who, as a true father in God, could by life and word effectively rebuke the Christians who attended chariot races on Good Friday and a decadent play on Easter Eve, Christians who joked in church, who neglected holy communion, whose conversation was unclean, and whose trust reposed on heathen amulets.

S. Chrysostom at Constantinople.

Transferred to Constantinople in 398, he showed a character of fearless rectitude. It was hardly to be expected that a prelate of stunted figure, whose clothes were cheap and whose dinner was a dish of vegetables, would be popular in the fashionable circles of a luxurious capital. Chrysostom, in spite of his strong natural affections, did not take much trouble to make himself agreeable. And his firm hand administered discipline with the same impartiality to rich and poor, clergyman and layman. Yet he was not harsh. It was one of the accusations brought against him that he granted an opportunity for penance and absolution to those who had twice been guilty of a mortal sin, a concession which looks rigid enough to modern eyes, but which was more lenient than the previous practice of the Church. Active at home, he made his influence felt abroad. He restored order in the Church at Ephesus,

whither he had gone to consecrate a bishop.[1] And he exerted himself to convert the heathen and Arian Goths to the true faith, giving to those in Constantinople a church near the palace, where the liturgy was performed in their own language.[2]

Theophilus and S. Chrysostom.

The refugees, with the "tall brothers" at their head, met with a cautious reception. Chrysostom allowed them to attend the Eucharist, but would not let them communicate while under the ban of their own bishop. He pleaded for them with Theophilus, who replied in an angry letter, and stirred up Epiphanius to stop the development of Origenism at Constantinople. Full of zeal, that eager old controversialist hastened to Constantinople, but after interviewing the "tall brothers" was impressed in their favour. He determined to go home, and in bidding farewell to certain bishops who escorted him to his boat, he honestly told them they were "acting in a play." He died at sea on his homeward journey. Theophilus, however, was determined to continue the "play." Chrysostom had mortally offended the Empress Eudoxia by a sermon against feminine finery and luxury. Theophilus knew that he could count upon her help and upon the support of the ecclesiastics who disliked Chrysostom's society. He therefore landed in the summer of 403 with a retinue of suffragan bishops, and, authorised by an imperial order, he held a synod of thirty-six bishops (twenty-nine Egyptian) in a suburb of Chalcedon, called "The Oak."[3] A string of preposterous charges was brought forward against Chrysostom. He was accused of every crime, from immoral private interviews

The synod at "The Oak."

[1] Socr. *H. E.* vi. 11. [2] Soz. *H. E.* v. 30, 31. [3] Socr. *H. E.* vi. 15.

with women and favouring Origenism to eating lozenges in church and feeding like a Cyclops. We also gather from his own writings that he was accused of administering holy communion to persons who were not fasting, a charge which he emphatically denies. The emperor accepted the decision of the synod and condemned him to exile in Bithynia.

The people of Constantinople were furious at this injustice, and the next day the streets of the capital thundered with the cry, "Give us back our bishop!" In the evening an earthquake frightened the empress. That very night she sent to Chrysostom a repentant letter. He returned amid crowds of admirers carrying tapers and singing hymns, and Theophilus fled secretly at midnight to Alexandria.

After two months the struggle between Chrysostom and Eudoxia broke out afresh. Close to the gates of S. Sophia a festival was held to inaugurate a silver statue of the empress set on a column of porphyry. Such festivals at Constantinople were accompanied by very foul attractions, and Chrysostom appears to have uttered all that was in his mind, though it is not true that he preached a well-known but spurious sermon in which Eudoxia is compared with Herodias dancing to obtain the head of John.[1] The game was once more in the hands of Theophilus. Without appearing personally, he managed that a second synod should be held at Constantinople early in 404. Chrysostom was then charged with infringing the canons of the Council of Antioch of 341. But an old bishop who knew the Arianising character of that Council ingeniously routed Chrysostom's

Eudoxia's statue.

[1] But see Socr. *H. E.* vi. 18.

opponents by asking them to profess in writing what the authors of the aforesaid canons believed. The synod collapsed. After some weeks of skirmishing the emperor Arcadius sent an order to Chrysostom to leave his church. He refused. And on Easter Even, 404, during the usual solemn vigil service at which the catechumens were baptised, a band of soldiers burst into the church where Chrysostom was officiating, drove out the clergy, and put to flight the candidates for baptism; "the place where the holy things were reserved" was invaded, and "the most holy blood of Christ was spilt on the cloaks of the soldiers."[1]

Soon after Whitsuntide Chrysostom entered the ship which took him into exile at Cucusus, in Armenia, where he suffered greatly from the extremes of cold and heat, and where he was surrounded by bloodthirsty robbers. He was industrious and patient, and so forgiving that he has left no mention of the fact that after his departure his enemy Eudoxia died after giving birth to a dead child. He had previously appealed to the West, writing a circular letter to the Bishops of Rome, Milan, and Aquileia. Innocent I. of Rome urged that the controversy should be settled by a General Council at Thessalonica, and he induced Honorius to ask Arcadius to recall Chrysostom. It all failed, and Chrysostom was sentenced to a still severer banishment at Pityus, a desolate spot on the Black Sea. His tormentors deliberately tried to kill their feeble victim by forcing him to travel rapidly through scorching heat and drenching rain. And on September 14th, 407, Chrysostom, knowing that his end was near, put on white

Exile and death.

[1] Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Innocentium*, 3.

garments as for a festival, asked for his last communion at a wayside church, and died with the tranquil words, "Glory be to God for all things. Amen."

The "tragedy of Chrysostom," as an ancient writer fitly calls it, is both a testimony to the power of an unworldly life, and a proof that ecclesiastics in the highest of positions must be prepared to make their choice between the part of a courtier and that of a martyr.

CHAPTER XXV

S. AUGUSTINE AND HIS WORK

THE influence of S. Augustine on Western Christianity has been imperial and permanent. His wonderful conversion, his extraordinary literary achievements, his power of dealing with the most abstruse problems of theology and morals, the stream of originality, truthfulness, and goodness which flowed from his pen, his historical position at one of the great crises of the history of the world, and, above all, his devotion to Christ, make him one of the few great interpreters of redemption.

This influence was increased by the fact that with the exception of S. Hilary of Poitiers, there had been no great Latin theologian since the times of S. Cyprian. Tertullian and Novatian were naturally discredited by their lapse into heresy; and S. Cyprian, though he was well fitted to inspire enthusiasm and enforce discipline, had not to face the difficulties which pressed most hardly upon Christian minds in the fourth and fifth centuries. Until A.D. 350 the theology of Africa and Italy was distinguished from that of the Greek world by the following marks—(*a*) In the East doctrine was regarded as part of a Christian philosophic view of the universe, in the West it was understood rather as the expression

Previous Latin theology.

of a divine command; (*b*) in the East Christian piety had been mainly concerned with the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity, in the West sin and amendment, punishment and expiation, had been the burning problems; (*c*) in the East, with regard to the doctrine of Christ's Person, argument was sometimes in advance of conviction, as was shown by the relapse of many bishops who had been present at the Council of Nicaea; in the West conviction was in advance of argument. The moral earnestness of the West had led men on to apprehend by intuition the truth which many in the East were laboriously approaching by an intellectual effort.

The second half of the fourth century had created new strata of theology in the West. S. Hilary of Poitiers imported the precious teaching of S. Athanasius about the Trinity and the Incarnation, contributing valuable elements of his own. S. Ambrose developed the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament on Greek lines. The Eastern zeal for monasticism and a closer union of the soul with Christ began to spread in the West, through the teaching of S. Ambrose and S. Jerome. Marius Victorinus, an obscure but able writer, had combined an ardent admiration for S. Paul's teaching about faith and grace with a conception of God which was enriched by all that was best in Neo-Platonism. Finally, the struggle between Catholicism and Donatism in Africa had taught Optatus of Mileve how to defend the unity of the Church and the holiness which she derives through the sacraments.

It was the work of S. Augustine to endue with warmth and light all this accumulated material, and to make it speak to the whole of Latin Christendom.

Influenced by the East, he was still essentially Western. His theology showed that, like a Roman, he conceived of religion as a holy discipline and a duty towards society, while, like a Latin African, he had a strong sense of the personal worth of the individual soul and of the sacredness of the sacraments. The secret of his influence is best discovered in his *Confessions*, an autobiographical work which is a classic of the Christian Church. It was a national habit of the African to court publicity and to be more willing to talk about himself than not. But in the *Confessions* this habit has expressed itself in

S. Augustine's "Confessions."

> "The tenderest scroll
> That love and recollection ever wrote."

It is equally valuable as a psychological and devotional work, and it inaugurates a new kind of literature. For the first time a great writer opens to God the story of his heart, in order to lead his fellow-men to the same goal as himself.

Aurelius Augustinus was born November 13th, 354, at Tagaste, in Numidia, and died August 28th, 430, at Hippo. His father was a frank, coarse pagan and his mother Monnica was a Christian saint, types of African society at that period. Augustine was not baptised in his childhood, but was taught by his mother to reverence Christianity. Every African town had its school, and Augustine as a schoolboy was intelligent, inquisitive, quick to tell falsehoods and to pilfer dainties. At the age of fifteen his father's poverty compelled Augustine to return home; but at seventeen he went to the university of Carthage, where he studied rhetoric with a view to the bar. Carthage

S. Augustine's early life.

probably contained 500,000 inhabitants. The Christians had divided it into seven ecclesiastical districts, and churches were numerous. But the old pagan life was strong; infamous processions passed through the streets, and the people were so much addicted to the theatre and the arena that factions would fight for their favourite charioteer or dancer. It was a city of pleasure and vice, and Augustine began to sink into its sins. "Nothing," he says, "pleased me but to love and be loved." Then, in 371, he regulated his irregularities by concubinage, which, in Roman law, was regarded as a marriage of a second class, and his mind was filled with serious thoughts by reading the popular philosophy contained in Cicero's *Hortensius*. He began to seek for truth. His dim reverence for Christ, his own moral experiences and the difficulties which he felt with regard to the Old Testament, led him to Manichaeism. He remained a convinced Manichaean for nine years. At first he felt a youth's pride in having discovered a "rational" religion for himself, and only by slow degrees saw through the falsehood of a religion which traced good and evil to two material potencies. After teaching at Carthage and Rome he went, as a professor of rhetoric, to Milan in 384. He was then almost an Agnostic; but the influence of vigorous Church-life, of Neo-Platonic idealism, of Greek Christian theology, and of these three united in the person of S. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, convinced Augustine that truth was to be found in the Catholic Church. He believed that there is one spiritual God, that evil is not substantial, and began to think that faith is freedom and not slavery. The study of S. Paul's Epistles removed his remaining intellectual difficulties.

He was home-sick for his early love of Christ, but the moral difficulty was not yet overcome. Then a fellow-countryman, who had seen two imperial officials at Trier converted by reading the *Life of S. Antony*, told the story to Augustine. He was spell-bound, and entered on his final inward conflict. At last, in a quiet garden at Milan, he heard a childish voice in a neighbouring house utter the words, "Take up and read," and taking up S. Paul's Epistles, he read the words, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." The darkness vanished. He gave up his professorship, and spent the winter in a country house with his mother. With him there also went his son Adeodatus and his friend Alypius, and at the following Easter, 387, he and they were baptised together.

S. Augustine's conversion.

A few weeks later Monnica died, having seen the fulfilment of her constant prayers for her son's conversion. He returned to Africa, and was ordained priest at Hippo in 391; and at the urgent desire of the bishop became his coadjutor-bishop in 395. Soon afterwards he was bishop of Hippo, and for more than thirty years was the greatest personage in the African Church and in all Western Christendom.

He was an extraordinarily fertile writer, and though his controversies with the Donatists and the Pelagians decided his position in Church history, his books on Christian instruction, his sermons, his work on the Trinity, his criticism of Faustus the Manichaean, and his appreciation and adaptation of Neo-Platonism are all the works of a man of genius, who would have made

his mark in the world apart from the aforesaid controversies. But as he exercised the most important influence on ecclesiastical history by his teaching about the Church and the grace of God, this teaching demands our special consideration.

S. Augustine and Donatism.

We have previously noticed the great Donatist heresy, and shown how a question of fact with regard to a certain bishop led to a great question of principle. The alleged fact was that Felix, bishop of Aptunga, was a traitor to the faith; the alleged principle was that if the Church permitted the existence of tares as well as wheat she had ceased to be the Church. Seeing the profound injury which Donatism had done to Christianity, S. Augustine, near the beginning of his episcopate, set himself to combat both these assertions by letters, speeches, and friendly conversation. He offered mild terms to those Donatists who were willing to come back to the Church, with the result that the remaining Donatists were still more bitter against him. They refused repeated invitations to a discussion, fearing his masterly power of argument. Their unreasonable stubbornness and the cruel violence of the more fanatical Donatists unhappily led Augustine to abandon his belief that force should not be used in matters of faith, and to think that penal laws would act as a wholesome stimulant to conversion.[1] A synod at Carthage in 404 called upon the emperor Honorius to take proceedings against the Donatists. He imposed fines, banished their clergy, and appropriated their churches. Augustine again called them to a public disputation. They were compelled by the emperor to

[1] Aug. *Ep.* 93, 5; contrast *Ep.* 23.

enter the lists, and the result was a *Collatio cum Donatistis* in 411. Petilian and Primian were the chief speakers on the side of the Donatists, Augustine and Aurelian of Carthage on the other. The imperial commissioner, Marcellinus, decided that the Catholics had won their case, and the Acts of the Council were published and widely distributed by Augustine. Decisive measures against the schism were then taken by the State. In 412 heavy fines were imposed on all professing Donatists, in 414 they were deprived of all civil rights, and in 415 the holding of their meetings was forbidden under pain of death. Their power was now completely shattered, and most of the remaining Donatists united with the Catholics when both parties were persecuted by the Vandals.

S. Augustine's experience of Donatism developed his doctrine of the Church. The Donatists, by refusing to regard as valid an ordination or baptism conferred by any bishop who had ever betrayed the faith, raised questions such as, What is the Church? Does the virtue of a sacrament depend on the moral worth of the minister who celebrates it? What really constitutes the unity of the Church? Briefly, S. Augustine answers that the Church is a visible society of baptised persons subordinate to the hierarchy, that the sacraments are holy in themselves through the action of Christ, independently of the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, and that their virtue is neutralised when they are received by men who by schism break the bond of love. The unity of the Church depends, inwardly, upon the grace imparted to it by Christ, and, outwardly, upon the institutions through which grace is imparted. If it be

Doctrine of the Church.

asked, how there can be one Church if there is both an *outward* society containing bad men as well as good, and also an *interior* society of persons predestined to eternal life, S. Augustine's answer is plain. It can easily be understood if we do not confound it with the modern doctrine, according to which all the glory which is ascribed to the Church in the New Testament is detached from the visible Church and transferred to a minority of pious souls belonging to a hundred different sects. If S. Augustine held this modern theory, he would be quite inconsistent in upholding as he does the exclusive authority of the Catholic Church. But his "true" or "interior" Church is composed of those members of this visible Catholic Church who are destined to adhere permanently to their Lord. It includes all who form the kernel of the visible Church at this moment, all those Christians who have departed this life in faith, and those who, before Christ came, corresponded with the call of God. The visible Church or "mixed body" is, therefore, ordinarily to men the indispensable means for entering into the "interior" Church, while God in instituting the visible Church did not tie His own hands, and does act graciously upon souls who are outside it when He wills to do so. This is in exact accordance with S. Augustine's doctrine that it is Christ himself who consecrates the sacraments, and that the clergy only do this as His instruments. And it also agrees with his refusal to call a man a "heretic" if he erred through honest misapprehension.

Previous to S. Augustine different views had existed in the Church with regard to the origin of the soul and the effects of the sin of Adam. S. Augustine

seems to assume the truth of the view known as *Traducianism*. According to this view the first man bore within him the germ of all mankind; his soul was the fountain-head of all human souls. As the body of man is derived from the bodies of his parents, so his soul is derived from their souls. The unity of mankind and the transmission of sin are thus accounted for, evil being inherent in body and soul alike. The objection to this theory is that unless it is taught with careful safeguards it makes every man the product of previous circumstances, and allows little room for his free choice of good and evil. With regard to the effects of the sin of Adam, the Church had always assumed that sin is universal, but had not determined how far it is always the result of an inherited tendency. The early Fathers maintained that though our moral powers are weakened by the Fall so that it is less easy for us to do right, still these moral powers are not lost. They also maintained against the Gnostic heretics that all men can be saved if they wish to be saved. Finally, they do not seem always to have regarded our inherited tendency towards evil to be a thing which itself involves us in guilt. We are guilty when we sin, but the existence of an inherited inclination towards evil within us does not make us personally guilty in the sight of God.

S. Augustine on sin and grace.

The teaching of S. Augustine with regard to these great questions is the result of his study of S. Paul's Epistles, coloured by Neo-Platonism, mixed with the past experiences of the African Church, but moulded in every feature by his own religious experiences. He knew how hard is the struggle for

holiness. He knew that divine grace, the undeserved loving-kindness of a heavenly Father, had pursued him "down the arches of the years." He knew that his conversion came at a sudden supernatural crisis, resulting immediately in a wholly new sense of freedom, and the result was that he made statements which show that he sometimes sacrificed human freedom to the sovereignty of God. We must here content ourselves with the following brief outline of his teaching.

S. Augustine starts from a profound idea of personal sanctity as a real regeneration in this present life. The history of religion is regarded by him as a psychological drama. Adam and Eve were created free and holy, aided by God's grace, and capable of attaining immortality. They were *able not to sin and die*, and if they had acted right they would have become *unable to sin or die*. They were tempted, and fell. Their souls became corrupted, their wills became evil The result was death and damnation. The Fall was not limited to Adam; in him all mankind sinned, for he was all mankind.[1] The whole human race is descended from fallen Adam, and *concupiscence*, the lusting after what is unlawful, became permanent and immanent in the human race. The human race is a *mass of perdition*, everyone carrying within himself the fatal principle, without which he could not have even come into the world.

Great as was the evil, the remedy is also great. A new life has been given and a new creation has been effected. Grace has been brought to us as a free gift from God through Christ. It is first the gift of faith and love drawing us to Christ, given to man, not

[1] Rom. v. 12, where S. Augustine misinterpreted *in quo*, "because," as "in whom."

because he believes, but in order that he may believe. Grace is the beginning, middle, and end of the religious life. It is prevenient, coming before to awaken the conscience; it is operating, enabling us to appropriate the work of Christ through baptism; it is co-operating, renewing our will in all struggles against sin. Thus it bestows justification, which is both our forgiveness and our new creation by the infusion of new powers. It bestows the gift of perseverance, and in proportion as we attain inability to sin we attain to freedom. Real freedom of will is "the blessed necessity of not sinning," the felicity promised to the inhabitants of the heavenly city, who will no longer be able to sin.

S. Augustine on predestination.

As to the interpretation of the above part of S. Augustine's teaching, there is practical agreement among modern scholars. But they are divided as to how far he really taught a fatalistic view of predestination. It is plain that he taught that the disposal of God's grace depends entirely upon the will of God, and that certain sins are necessary in fallen man. By the divine decree, irrespective of human merit, some are predestined to redemption, and others, as "vessels of wrath," are passed over, and are therefore reprobate. The "reprobate" cannot appropriate grace, and the "elect" find it invincible.[1] This has led to a very general opinion that the teaching of S. Augustine is nearly as fatalistic as that of Calvin. Against this opinion it is ably maintained by some writers that (*a*) when S. Augustine speaks of sins being necessary in fallen man he means only involuntary revolts of nature for which God does not punish us; and that

[1] Aug. *Epp.* 194, 186.

(*b*) when he speaks of grace not being given to all men he means only the efficacious grace which God knows will prove successful; and that (*c*) when he speaks of grace as invincible he means that we cannot hinder God from choosing to give to us gifts which, as a matter of fact, produce our consent. In spite of this, "free will" with him means less than it should mean, and divine "assistance" more. The relation of these two elements in the process which unites the soul with God is sometimes seriously disturbed, and S. Augustine's teaching occasionally varied for the worse under the stress of controversy.

Pelagius, a British or Irish lay monk, a man of moral earnestness and discreet character, who had lived a cloistered life, came to Rome about 409. He was shocked, as S. Jerome was shocked, with the slack tone of Roman Christianity, and was irritated to find that S. Augustine's doctrine about the corruption of human nature was misused as a cloak for low living and languid self-excuse. He began to preach up reality in religion, and to tell the Romans that they could do better if they only would take the trouble. He declared that God had given them a nature capable of choosing right, that they had the power of doing right, and that if they sinned it was because they misused their free will. It soon became evident that in reaction against Augustinian doctrine he had exchanged some of the most important truths of Christianity for the principles of a rationalistic morality. He said that everyone is born into the world unweakened by any taint of inherited sin; that all men have the power to be sinless,[1] they have only to resolve

Pelagius in Rome.

[1] Aug. *de Nat. et Gratia*, 8.

it and work it out; that the widespread existence of sin is due only to bad example and men's choice of evil: that children only need to be baptised for the remission of future sins; and that death is only a natural phenomenon. Having thus denied that there is any ingrained moral flaw in human nature, he denied that we need any inward grace, any supernatural gift which invigorates the will and the affections by uniting us with Christ. The personal action of the Holy Spirit by which Christ abides in the Christian is ignored. By holding death, as we know it, to be the debt of nature rather than the wages of sin, by denying both the need and the possibility of a divinely given corrective of our inward evil inclination, Pelagius not only taught an enfeebled view of sin, he also paved the way for a repudiation of the sacraments and a denial of the doctrine of the Incarnation. There is thus a subtle connection between Pelagianism and Nestorianism both in ancient and in modern times. The first minimises the soul's need of a restoration; the second offers us a Saviour who cannot really restore the soul.

Pelagianism at Carthage.

While at Rome, Pelagius gained to his views Caelestius, a man of greater intellectual ability than himself. They won a reputation for religious earnestness, and their doctrine was unopposed. After the capture of Rome by Alaric, Pelagius went to the East, and Caelestius settled in Carthage, where Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, formally complained of him. Caelestius was specially charged with denying that there is any inherited sinfulness in man, and maintaining that children come into the world in the same condition as that of Adam before the Fall. He urged that this was a matter of speculation and

not of heresy. But the African Church, which on account of its conflict with Donatism was particularly sensitive wherever the sacraments were impugned, saw that Caelestius was really attacking the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. He was excommunicated A.D. 412.

On going to Palestine, Pelagius attached himself to John of Jerusalem and the Origenists (see p. 333). He was opposed by S. Jerome and by Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, who was sent to Jerusalem by S. Augustine. The Orientals, less skilled than the Westerns in the doctrines of sin and grace, could not be convinced that Pelagius was wrong. He fluently asserted the human need of "grace," and they failed to detect the fact that he used grace in the sense of the gift of free will or the gift of enlightenment or of Christ's example. They therefore acquitted him at a synod at Jerusalem in A.D. 415, and in the same year at another synod at Diospolis (*i.e.* Lydda), whither two Gallic bishops came to accuse Pelagius of heresy.

Pelagianism in the East.

The African bishops were not content to see Pelagius victorious. In 416 they renewed their condemnation of Caelestius at Carthage and Mileve, and sent their decision to Pope Innocent I. Five bishops, among whom was S. Augustine, also sent to Innocent a private explanation.[1] A number of Pelagian treatises had appeared in Italy, and Innocent expressed his strong approval of the proceeding of the African bishops, though the approval seems to be evoked rather by their deference to his opinion than any resolute opposition to Pelagianism. Innocent

Appeal to Rome.

[1] Aug. *Epp.* 175–7.

died in 417, and was succeeded by a Greek, Zosimus, who declared that Caelestius and Pelagius had completely justified themselves, and blamed the African bishops for their action. The African bishops assembled hastily early in 418, in a synod at Carthage, and protested that Zosimus had been misled, and that he should hold to the sentence pronounced by Innocent until the two false teachers should acknowledge the need of divine grace. Without waiting for any further advice, they met again at Carthage in May, 418, and in a great synod condemned Pelagianism in detail. Almost simultaneously an edict of the emperor Honorius forbade the Pelagians to stay in Rome. Zosimus then thought it advisable to break with the Pelagians; he excommunicated both Pelagius and Caelestius, and in his *Epistola Tractoria*, which was sent to all foreign Churches, he asserted the Catholic doctrines of inherited sin, infant baptism, and inward grace.

Among the few Italian bishops who favoured Pelagianism was Julian of Eclanum. He was an acute writer with a philosophical training, and he severed Pelagianism from the ascetic earnestness which had marked its birth. He accused S. Augustine of Manichaeism, and in his own optimistic view of human nature anticipated the crude but clever rationalism of the eighteenth century. In defending the coarser instincts of human nature he even ventured to attribute them to our Lord himself. S. Augustine, whose writings against Pelagianism had already done much to determine the course of the controversy, was engaged in a literary duel with Julian for some years. In the meantime, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the celebrated leader of the

Pelagianism condemned in the East.

Antiochene school of theology, had espoused the Pelagian cause by attacking S. Jerome and calling the doctrine of original sin "this sickness which has appeared in the West." Julian and Caelestius visited him, and when Nestorius, the pupil of Theodore, became archbishop of Constantinople in 428, they went to Constantinople to enlist the support of Nestorius. They thus prepared for their own destruction. Marius Mercator, an admirer of S. Augustine, wrote to the emperor in 429 a *Commonitorium* on the subject, and the Pelagian leaders were expelled from the capital. In 431 Caelestius and his party were condemned with Nestorius at the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus.

Semi-Pelagianism.

An attempt to mediate between the doctrines of S. Augustine and those of Pelagius was made by John Cassian and Faustus of Rhegium. Cassian entirely repudiated the main propositions of the Pelagians, but denied that the will is passive in the work of conversion, and held that predestination is conditioned by God's foresight of man's readiness to obey Him. Much of the Semi-Pelagian teaching was sound and reasonable, except at the one point where it was really Pelagian, viz. the assertion that the initial movement of man towards God must be man's own act purely and simply. They admitted the need of grace in a full and true sense of the word, but did not recognise that we cannot seek God without the help of God to aid our search. S. Augustine did not remove these difficulties by his two treatises, *On the Predestination of the Saints* and *On the Gift of Perseverance*. After his death in 430 Prosper of Aquitaine continued to maintain the full Augustinian doctrine. Semi-Pelagianism prevailed in Gaul for

many years. And in 529 the celebrated Council of Arausio (now Orange), which practically ended the controversy, ended it by teaching Augustinianism in a wisely modified form, and with the express denial that God predestines any man to evil.

The City of God.

On the night of August 24th, 410, the army of Alaric the Visigoth entered Rome through the Porta Salaria. He set fire to the buildings near the gate, and a large part of the city was burnt. Alaric was himself a Christian, and spared the churches of Rome; but for six days the city was given up to pillage, and when the barbarians left Rome to plunder Capua the streets of the eternal city were strewn with corpses. The effect of this disaster was profound. Even the Christians were horrified, and S. Jerome, who in his fighting moments called Rome "Babylon," said that the torch of the world was extinguished. The pagans attributed the fall of Rome to the wrath of the gods at the abolition of pagan worship, and everyone, pagan or Christian, saw that the empire and the civilisation that they loved were in danger of complete destruction.

In the midst of this terror S. Augustine began to write his great work, *On the City of God.* Finding himself faced by the problems of God's providence over the Roman empire, he enlarges his horizon, and transforming a defence of Christianity into a philosophy of history, he groups the history of the world around that religion which alone can lead the world to its true goal. This vast work was begun in 413, and only finished in 426. S. Augustine shows that the gods had never given any real protection to their worshippers, and that long before the appearance of

Christianity vices which the Romans themelves knew to be destructive were causing the decay of Rome. He passes on to criticise the philosophers who had attempted to give paganism a systematic and dogmatic form, and after speaking with sympathy and impartiality about Plato, he sarcastically attacks the pedantic superstitions of the Neo-Platonists. He then shows the real key to the understanding of God's providence by pointing to the City of God, the society of all God's servants in all times and in all places. It is contrasted with the earthly city, or society alienated from God. The birth, progress, and end of these two cities is described, beginning with the creation and the fall and ending with the judgment and eternal bliss. The whole work forms a theology living and moving in the history of mankind, so far as that history was known at this period. The City of God is a society distinguished by that aspiration towards the eternal and immutable which S. Augustine wished to inspire into his contemporaries. And as he describes the true nature of wisdom and the true ground of encouragement, the vigour of his writing is hardly inferior to the magnificence of his design.

In the historical side of his work he was aided by the learned presbyter Orosius. The presbyter Salvian of Marseilles wrote somewhat later a treatise, *On the Government of God.* The thesis of it is simple. The unbelieving Epicureanism of the day saw in the calamities which had befallen Gaul a proof of the indifference of the Deity towards human fortunes. He saw in these disasters unmistakable evidence of the providential government of a God who punishes sin by leaving men to the consequences of

Salvian.

their misdeeds. He maintains that the Roman world had deserved its doom by shameless cupidity and licentiousness, and draws a very unflattering picture of the morals of the Christians. He attributes the conquest of Spain by the Vandals simply to the immorality of the conquered; he tells us of the Carthaginian Christians witnessing chariot races and immoral plays while the Vandals were at their gates, and denounces Aquitaine as a place where conjugal fidelity was unknown. He certainly is guilty of some exaggeration. But he is not far wrong when he says, "the Roman world was laughing when it died."

CHAPTER XXVI

NESTORIANISM AND EUTYCHIANISM

GREEK Christianity, from the days of S. Ignatius and S. Irenaeus onward, had found its special satisfaction in the truth of the Incarnation. It valued the Incarnation as the means whereby all human nature is made capable of an increased partaking of the powers of the divine nature. Jesus Christ, who, as S. Paul says, had "the form of God,"[1] *i.e.* all the divine attributes of a nature which is sinless, immortal, and impassible, took upon Him "the form of a servant"; *i.e.* all the attributes of our human nature, except its sin. And in this union Greek piety rightly saw the pledge of man's progress and salvation. It was therefore seen to be essential that the close unity of Christ's divine and human natures should be uncompromisingly maintained, and that the centre of His Person should be sought, not in the human nature which He took and ennobled, but in the divine nature which He has possessed from all eternity.

Orthodox Greek Theology.

Apollinarius of Laodicea (see p. 288) had tried to put this truth into a logical form, with very unfortunate results. His theory kept, indeed, the unity of Christ's Person, but kept it at the expense of His real humanity.

[1] Phil. ii. 6, 7.

He denied that our Lord had a human rational soul, and represented His human nature as absorbed into His Godhead. The Church saw that this theory contradicts the Gospels, and Apollinarius was condemned. His followers revenged themselves by circulating the writings of Apollinarius under the honoured names of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus and S. Athanasius. Of course neither of these saints had taught any such doctrine. But S. Athanasius had laid great stress on S. John's doctrine about "the Word" who "was made flesh," a doctrine of which the heresy of Apollinarius is a distorted exaggeration. And the whole theology of Alexandria tended to be mystical; it took pleasure in realising the sense of direct communion with God in Christ, and it valued the Incarnation and the sacraments as means of this communion. This Alexandrian theology found a leading defender in S. Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria (A.D. 412–444). His theology strongly resembles that of S. Athanasius.[1] He teaches that the two natures of Christ came together "without confusion and without change." He opposes Apollinarianism and does not allow any "mixture" in Christ's Person. On the other hand, S. Cyril's language is sometimes lacking in precision, and even has an Apollinarian colour. He is so anxious to maintain that Christ is one and divine, that he sometimes seems to ignore the reality of some of our Lord's human experiences. And he appropriated a phrase which had a disastrous influence on Christendom in saying that he believed in "one nature of God the Word which was incarnate." This phrase was not intended by S. Cyril

S. Cyril.

[1] For S. Cyril's teaching see his *adv. Nestor.* Migne, *P. G.* 76, and his *Epistles*, Migne, *P. G.* 77–9–90.

to deny that our Lord had a real human nature. But it had been used by Apollinarius in that heretical sense, and was quoted by S. Cyril under the impression that it was a saying of S. Athanasius. It became the battle-cry of a party which said that Christ had only one nature, and that divine. This party found many supporters among ignorant monks, who supposed that they paid greater honour to Christ by asserting that He was only divine.

In opposition to the school of Alexandria, that of Antioch followed another tendency and used other methods. It was practical rather than mystical, in interpreting the Bible it was critical rather than allegorical, and in its doctrine of Christ's Person it preferred to lay stress on the value of His human example rather than that of His divine grace. Both the Alexandrian and the Antiochene temperaments had their distinct merits, the one might have supplemented the other, and the two in union might have been of permanent value to the Church. The name of S. John Chrysostom is enough to remind us of the admirable type of Christianity which sometimes resulted from an Antiochene training. But it cannot be denied that at Antioch there was a tendency to regard Christian morality as independent of union with Christ, and to believe that our Lord had a completely human personality and just as much Divinity as might seem compatible with this belief. That tendency had virulently manifested itself in Paul of Samosata and in Lucian. It had been checked and corrected by the Council of Nicaea, which had compelled Christians to realise that the Person of the Son of God is really divine. But the old tendency, though

The School of Antioch.

corrected, was not radically cured. Some of the Antiochenes, while granting that Jesus Christ had a divine nature, still thought that His personality was centred in His manhood. They regarded Him as a man with whom the divine nature became connected by degrees, and thus replaced the doctrine of the Incarnation by the theory of an apotheosis. After the Council of Nicaea the leader of this school was Diodore, who became bishop of Tarsus in 378. More important was Theodore, who became bishop of Mopsuestia in 394. He was one of the greatest scholars of his age. While he attached too high a value to the Septuagint, he was a vigorous critic of the Old Testament. He wrote copiously on the Incarnation, especially against the Arian Eunomius and Apollinarius. But his own doctrine was seriously defective. Holding as he did that Jesus Christ was distinct from the Person of God the Son, he taught that it was possible for Him to sin. And he denied that Mary could fitly be called *Theotokos* (Mother of God, literally "she who brought forth God"), because she brought forth not God the Son, but a man who was gradually more and more closely united with God the Son. The title *Theotokos* had been used by Origen, Alexander, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and other fathers, and was cherished by Catholics as a safeguard of the divine majesty of the Son of Mary.

Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Theodore was not condemned during his lifetime, and the full significance of his theology was not recognised until it was put into a popular form by Nestorius.[1]

[1] For Theodore's teaching see Migne, *P. G.* 66, and Swete, *Theodore on the Minor Epistles of S. Paul*, vol. ii.

Nestorius, born in Syria and trained in Antioch, became archbishop of Constantinople in 428. His inaugural address was delivered in the presence of the emperor. "Help me," he said, "to destroy the heretics, and I will help you to destroy the Persians." The fiery intolerance of his language and his conduct quickly won for him the nickname of "the bonfire." Not content with opposing those who were definitely heretical, he acted with great harshness towards the harmless Novatians and Quartodecimans, so that, if he himself suffered afterwards for his errors, his sufferings were only the measure that he had meted out to others. The storm burst soon. A favourite priest of his named Anastasius, whom he had brought from Antioch, openly denounced in a sermon the term *Theotokos*, adding, "It is impossible that God should be born of a human being." The excitable Greek audience shouted its disapproval. Nestorius was obliged to speak, and he delivered a course of sermons, in which he warmly supported the doctrine of Anastasius. He showed no toleration whatever for any other view. And when Proclus, bishop of Cyzicus, while preaching in the cathedral, eloquently upheld the traditional doctrine of the Church, Nestorius rose and repudiated it. With great unfairness he began to insinuate that his opponents were Apollinarians, a line of policy to which he steadily adhered. And when a bishop named Dorotheus shouted out during divine service "Anathema to anyone who says that Mary is *Theotokos*," Nestorius almost immediately administered holy communion to him, thereby signifying his approval. Nestorius still further compromised himself by first showing sympathy with certain Pelagians, and then

Nestorius.

holding a Council at which anti-Pelagians were treated as Manichaeans.

His next move was to write to Celestine, bishop of Rome, endeavouring to secure his interest by complaining that certain clerics were reviving Apollinarianism. Celestine, who had previously received translations of some sermons by Nestorius, had written to make inquiries of Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril did not reply at first to Celestine, but wrote to Nestorius urging him to acknowledge the term *Theotokos*. Then in 430, after the scandal of Dorotheus, Cyril wrote to Nestorius his admirable "second letter," carefully and precisely explaining the doctrine of the Incarnation and the reason why we cannot call it a mere union of two persons. In Lent, 430, Nestorius wrote an irrelevant reply, insinuating that Cyril was misinformed, and that the imperial family was not on Cyril's side. When Cyril did write to Celestine he had to tell him that Constantinople was in a state of open schism; he deferentially asked for Celestine's opinion and gave a summary of the new heresy. Thereupon, in August, 430, Celestine held a synod at Rome, and then wrote to Nestorius bidding him retract within ten days. He also told Cyril to act in his stead and to provide for the Church of Constantinople if Nestorius should not retract. Cyril would not be hurried. He waited until November, and then held a synod at Alexandria. The result was the "third letter" to Nestorius, with twelve articles and anathemas appended. Among the doctrines anathematised was—not to acknowledge that Emmanuel is God and Mary *Theotokos*—to say that the Incarnation involved a mere association between two persons—to call

S. Cyril's letters.

Christ a "God-bearing Man," not truly God incarnate—to say that the Spirit by which Christ wrought was not His own, but alien to himself. The appendix containing the anathemas is somewhat too brief and peremptory. It does not explain itself quite sufficiently to make misinterpretation impossible. But, nevertheless, it is sound to the core. It maintains that Jesus Christ is personally God, and that He took our human nature, not as something distinct from himself, but as absolutely His own, so as to be included by us in every thought of Him. Four Egyptian bishops were entrusted to carry the letter to the archbishop of Constantinople.

Nestorius, however, sat firm in the enjoyment of imperial favour. And Cyril had acted with just enough indiscretion to make Nestorius still firmer. Early in the controversy he had written to the emperor, Theodosius II., a treatise "On the Right Faith," with a careful criticism both of Apollinarianism and of the error of dividing Christ into two persons. He was not content with this, but also wrote to the emperor's younger sisters, and then wrote a third treatise to Pulcheria, another sister, and to Eudocia, the empress. The treatises are earnest and able, but the writer forgot that the very weakness of Theodosius would make him inclined to resent an appeal to the ladies of his family which even a stronger man might have regarded as incorrect. Cyril's mistake was now of decided use to Nestorius. He persuaded the emperor to write an extremely unpleasant letter to Cyril, blaming his "mischief-making rashness." Theodosius II. also wrote to various prelates saying that no new step must be taken before the holding of a great Council at Ephesus next Whitsunday.

Nestorius and Theodosius II.

When the four Egyptian bishops arrived, December 7th, Nestorius refused to see them, and then preached some cautious sermons, in which he admitted that the word *Theotokos* might be used in a sound sense. But he made other statements which emphatically implied that Jesus Christ is two persons joined together. And he also drew up twelve anathemas in opposition to those of S. Cyril. It is unfortunate that we have only a Latin version of these counter-anathemas by Nestorius. But the Latin appears to be coherent. It gives no real answer to the statements of S. Cyril; it implies that the Word and the Man Jesus were two beings and not one, and the errors which it repudiates are merely the errors of the Apollinarians.

Council of Ephesus.

Ephesus was not a very suitable place for a Nestorian victory. Memnon, the bishop of that great see, was a friend of Cyril, and Ephesus was at least thirty days' journey from Antioch, which was the centre of Cyril's opponents. Nestorius himself arrived in good time, attended by Count Candidian, who was to represent the emperor at the Council, and by Count Irenaeus, one of his own supporters. Before the Council opened an Armenian bishop, Acacius of Melitene, who was a friend of Nestorius, vainly endeavoured to make him change his mind. Nestorius stuck resolutely to his opinions, and in the presence of several hearers said, "To call a child of two or three months old God is, I hold, unlawful."[1] In fact, his attitude made his subsequent condemnation a certainty. In the meantime the Syrian bishops had still failed to appear. The Council ought to have been opened on June 7th, and fourteen days later

[1] Mansi, iv. 1181.

Cyril received a letter from John of Antioch asking him to wait five or six days longer. He had travelled hard, and the request was reasonable. Cyril ought to have waited. The Syrians, even when they agreed with the Egyptians, felt just that sort of latent jealousy which sometimes exists, however unreasonable it may be, between the English and the Scots, or the French and the Italians. And in this case jealousy was not unmixed with soreness. Cyril's Egyptian synod, by composing twelve anathemas for the admonition of Nestorius, had seemed to claim for a national Church an authority which properly belonged to the Catholic Church as a whole. And it had alienated John of Antioch, Andrew of Samosata, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, one of the most learned and active bishops in Christendom. To have waited courteously for these "Orientals" might have disarmed jealousy and allayed anger; it would have been to manifest both the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. But Cyril's friends were impatient, and some were ill, and Cyril determined to wait only until the next day, Monday, June 22nd.

So the Council began its session. Nestorius refused to appear. S. Cyril's "second letter" to Nestorius, in spite of its having previously had the pope's approval, was submitted to the Council before it was ratified. The reply of Nestorius and S. Cyril's "third letter" were read, then extracts from the statements of the accused. He was then deposed from his episcopal dignity, and at nightfall the bishops went home escorted by enthusiastic crowds with tapers and incense. And S. Cyril, in spite of his culpable hastiness, really had the interests of Christianity at heart, had honestly tried to bring

Nestorius to a better mind, had perceived the downgrade tendency of his heresy with almost prophetic insight, and had secured one of the most vital facts of religion. He knew the great issue raised by the teaching of Nestorius. It was not the mere use of a particular title applied to the Mother of Emmanuel, but whether her Child should be worshipped as actually Divine.

On Friday John arrived. He was naturally indignant, and without even changing his clothes he held a small Council of his own, at which he pronounced Cyril and Memnon to be deposed. Cyril's twelve articles were anathematised, and a letter was sent to the emperor. On July 10th three legates arrived from Rome bearing a letter of Celestine, in which he intimated that he knew that the bishops would come to the same conclusion as himself. Cyril and his friends were thus assured of the support of the bishop of Rome, though not of the emperor. After ratifying the Nicene Creed and dealing with certain minor matters the Council of Ephesus closed, July 31st, 431. For some days the orthodox were unable to send a report of the Council's proceedings to Constantinople, for the Nestorian party kept watch at every harbour and every city gate. But a beggar was able to carry a letter from S. Cyril to Constantinople concealed in the hollow of a walking-stick. It was handed to the venerable abbot Dalmatius, and the result was that the old man interviewed Theodosius, and made both the letter and the interview known to the public. The people sided with Cyril. The emperor temporised and sent to Ephesus John the *comes sacrorum*, with an epistle in which, with real or feigned confusion of

Theodosius II. and the Council.

thought, he told Celestine of Rome that he accepted the deposition of Cyril, Memnon, and Nestorius as "signified by your Holiness." These prelates were then put under strict arrest. Count John drew up a report which represented the orthodox as altogether in the wrong, and many of them were detained at Ephesus. They wrote strong complaints to the capital, asserting that some of them were being killed by the climate, and others being impoverished by their prolonged absence from home. Theodosius then consented to receive deputies from the two contending parties, and after five audiences inclined to the orthodox side and permitted the consecration of a new archbishop of Constantinople, Maximian, an aged and pious man who had been taught by S. Chrysostom. But Theodosius refused to commit himself definitely to one side or the other. He issued a mandate in which he said, "I cannot condemn the Orientals," and at the same time said that Cyril and Memnon should be restored to their sees. S. Cyril had now practically won the day. He was home at Alexandria, a Catholic prelate occupied the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople, and Nestorius, whose deposition had not been cancelled, had retired to a monastery near Antioch.

The Oriental or Antiochene party was far from being annihilated. The great see of Antioch wielded an enormous influence and the theology of Antioch was ably supported by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, who in his exegesis of Scripture, his history of the Church, and his criticism of paganism, showed himself to be one of the foremost Christian writers of the time.[1] The Antiochenes were resolved

The Reunion.

[1] The works of Theodoret are in Migne, *P. G.* 80–84.

(i.) to secure the reversal of the deposition of Nestorius, (ii.) to overthrow the twelve articles of Cyril. They had to suffer a new disappointment in 432, when Rabbûla, bishop of the important see of Edessa, and one of the best members of their party, openly deserted them. Theodosius also, supported by Sixtus II., bishop of Rome, was busily engaged in trying to make peace by means of private negotiations. To conduct these negotiations he employed a layman of high character, the tribune Aristolaus. The result was that Cyril sent to a leading Oriental bishop, Acacius of Berœa, a judicious and conciliatory explanation of his articles. Acacius and John of Antioch both approved,[1] and in turn sent to Cyril a formula which had been drawn up at Ephesus by Theodoret, altering its preamble and conclusion. The formulary was entirely Catholic, and strongly insisted upon the unity of Christ's Person and on the word *Theotokos*. A background of Antiochene theology may be seen in an equally strong insistence upon the distinctness of our Lord's manhood from His Godhead, and in consequence S. Cyril has been accused of yielding and compromising. But the formulary agrees with the more cautious and well-balanced class of S. Cyril's earlier utterances, and it is not really a compromise, but a comprehension of two different sides of one great truth. John and Cyril were reconciled. The reunion was only repudiated by

Formula of Reunion.

[1] It is to be regretted that Cyril at this time tried to secure the help of the Court by sending *eulogiae*, or presents to Pulcheria and others. Such a practice was already condemned by the better consciences of the time, though it is still regarded with some leniency in southern Europe. For a thorough and searching statement of the merits and failings of S. Cyril, see W. Bright, *The Age of the Fathers*, vol. ii.

a few extremists on both sides. Nestorius himself was banished to Arabia and then to Egypt, and the vast Nestorian Church that arose on the eastern confines of the empire owed its origin to others.

The peace, equally creditable to S. Cyril and to John of Antioch, lasted until S. Cyril died in 444, and was then broken by the extremists on both sides. Domnus, the new archbishop of Antioch, somewhat indiscreetly consecrated to the important see of Tyre Irenaeus, who had once been a close follower of Nestorius. Dioscorus, the new archbishop of Alexandria, was an incarnation of S. Cyril's least saintly characteristics. He determined to exert himself against the Antiochene party, to take advantage of any of their mistakes, and to raise his own see to an undisputed primacy over the Eastern Empire. In Constantinople itself he had two important allies, Eutyches, an aged but influential abbot, who had been a friend of S. Cyril, and Chrysaphius, high chamberlain to the emperor. Chrysaphius had quarrelled with Flavian, the excellent archbishop of Constantinople, because Flavian had refused to send gifts of gold to the emperor when he was appointed to the patriarchate. Dioscorus began his campaign in 447 by writing to Domnus to complain of the teaching of Theodoret, and he secured an imperial mandate confining Theodoret within the limits of his own diocese. He then secured the removal of Irenaeus and the banishment of Ibas, a member of the same party, who had succeeded Rabbûla in the see of Edessa. In this plan of campaign, Eutyches had taken an active part.

Domnus and Dioscorus.

Domnus accused Eutyches to the emperor of reviving Apollinarianism. The charge was not untrue, but

Eutyches felt safe. He had not only the support of Dioscorus, but by means of a vague letter against Nestorianism, which he wrote to Leo, bishop of Rome, he secured the sympathy of the great Western patriarchate. But the matter was not allowed to rest. In 448 some bishops were staying at Constantinople for purposes connected with their dioceses. A custom had grown up whereby such bishops discussed ecclesiastical questions with the archbishop of Constantinople at a meeting which acquired the name of the "sojourning synod."[1] At such a meeting Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, complained of the blasphemy of Eutyches. Flavian behaved with admirable moderation, and finally sent for Eutyches, who delayed coming until delay was no longer possible. When he came, he said he recognised in our Lord two natures before the Incarnation, "but after the Incarnation I acknowledge one nature." This was practically a denial of the truth that our Lord had any real human nature, and Eutyches was accordingly excommunicated.

Eutyches and Flavian.

Flavian and Eutyches both wrote to Leo, bishop of Rome, who, as soon as he grasped the facts, wrote a brief reply to Flavian indicating that he agreed with his views. Theodosius, however, was urged by Eutyches and Dioscorus to summon an Œcumenical Council, and he did not disguise the fact that he was more on the side of Dioscorus than that of Flavian. Leo was convinced that Eutyches was wrong, and he did not regard a Council as necessary, but he was willing to send deputies. He also wrote on June 13th 449, a

[1] *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα.*

letter which became celebrated throughout Christendom as the "Tome of S. Leo."[1] This letter is a clear and forcible statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation. It closely follows the teaching of Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas, but it also shows the influence of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, and is aimed directly at the errors of Eutyches. It strongly maintains the unity of Christ's Person and the distinctness and reality of His divine and His human nature. Certain passages are full of genuine beauty, and show deep moral interest in the great doctrine which they define. The Tome agrees with the formulary of Reunion of 433, and thereby marks a new and important approximation between Rome and Antioch, and a severance of the connection between Rome and Alexandria, which had been so vital during the Arian controversy.

The Tome of S. Leo.

The Council met on August 8th, 449, at Ephesus, and included about a hundred and thirty-five bishops. It was terrorised by Dioscorus and the imperial commissioner, Elpidius. The proceedings were conducted without the smallest semblance of fairness. A letter of Leo was ignored. Eusebius of Dorylaeum was allowed no opportunity of defending his action, while Eutyches was heard at length and acquitted. Dioscorus retracted even his own words in which he had formerly asserted that our Lord has two natures. Angry shouts interrupted any dissent from Eutychian doctrine. The unhappy Domnus was not only compelled to assent to sentences pronounced against Flavian, Eusebius, and Theodoret, but was also accused, in his absence, of

"Brigand Council" of Ephesus.

[1] Leo, *Ep.* 28.

numerous petty offences, publicly browbeaten, and then deposed by the triumphant pope of Alexandria. Flavian of Constantinople was thrown down and kicked by a gang of Eutychian monks, and died shortly afterwards in consequence of the brutal treatment which he had received. "Not a trial, but a brigandage,"[1] were the words in which Leo summed up the proceedings over which Dioscorus had presided. The title stuck, and this heretical Council has continued from that day to be known as the *Latrocinium*, or Council of Brigands.

The Council of Chalcedon.

Theodosius II. died in 450. He was succeeded by Pulcheria as sole empress, who promptly sent to execution the eunuch Chrysaphius and then married a just and humane senator named Marcian. Both were friendly with Leo, and both saw that a papacy on the Nile was a menace to the unity of the Empire. Old Rome and New Rome (Constantinople) must be espoused both politically and socially, and Alexandria must be controlled.

In spite of the coolness of Leo, who was not anxious for an Œcumenical Council to be held out of Italy, Marcian ordered that an Œcumenical Council should be held, and that it should meet at Chalcedon in 451. Anatolius of Constantinople and Maximus of Antioch,[2] both of whom had been connected with the Eutychian party, came over to the side of Leo, and Dioscorus was therefore isolated. Marcian treated him with consideration; he summoned him to a private interview and tried to act as peacemaker. But Dioscorus, who was as courageous as he was intolerant, flung Leo's Tome on the ground and insulted the

[1] Leo, *Ep.* 95. [2] Leo, *Ep.* 88.

author. He was aware that the bishops of Egypt, even if they solidly supported him, could not stand against the bishops of the whole Christian world, and, therefore, the game was up. The Council met on October 8th, 451. The bishops numbered about six hundred; there were also present sixteen lay representatives of the emperor, and representatives of the senate. The West was only represented by two Africans, and three delegates of Leo. Dioscorus admitted that Christ is "from two natures," but would not admit that His human nature still exists with His Godhead. He was therefore deposed. An amnesty was granted on the one hand to Juvenal of Jerusalem, though he had taken part in the Latrocinium, and on the other hand to Theodoret, after he had definitely anathematised Nestorius.

The Council ratified not only the original Nicene Creed but also the longer creed, which is substantially identical with the creed loosely called "Nicene" in England at the present time. The history of this second creed is still a matter of some uncertainty. It was probably the creed used by S. Cyril of Jerusalem and S. Epiphanius, and was perhaps recommended by them as a baptismal profession of faith to Nectarius, who was elected to the see of Constantinople, while still unbaptised, during the session of the Council of Constantinople in 381. It certainly came to be used as the baptismal creed at Constantinople and was quoted as such by Flavian at the Latrocinium.

Dogmatic decisions.

There was also drawn up a most important *Definition of the Faith* condemning Nestorian and Eutychian errors.[1]

[1] Mansi, vii. 107.

It agrees with the formula of Reunion of 433, and is a masterpiece of self-restraint and piety in spite of the uproar made during the meetings of the Council. It ratifies both the letters of Cyril to Nestorius and the letter of Leo to Flavian. It declares our Lord to be "of one substance with the Father according to the Godhead, and of one substance with us according to the manhood, in all things like unto us except sin . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged *in two natures*, without fusion, without change, without division, without separation; the difference of the two natures having been in nowise taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature preserved, and combining to form one person and one hypostasis."

The phrase *in two natures* implies that our Lord's manhood is real and permanent though united with the Godhead; the words "without fusion, without change" exclude Eutychianism, while the words "without division, without separation" exclude Nestorianism. Thus our Lord remained for the Church of later ages what He had been for the apostles. In spite of the bitterness and the jealousies which had marked the controversies of the period, the Church had been guided into the truth by the Holy Spirit. And if the Council of Chalcedon was a victory of Leo and of Marcian, it was also a victory of the Gospel. It was repudiated by the vitiated nationalism of the East, led by Eutychian monks. In Palestine violent outbreaks forced Juvenal of Jerusalem to leave his see for a time. At Alexandria still greater violence was shown. Proterius, the orthodox patriarch, was killed in a church by the

Monophysite Churches.

followers of his rival, Timothy Ælurus, and the new emperor, Leo I., was obliged to appoint a prelate who compromised with Eutychianism. Even at Antioch a Eutychian monk, Peter the Fuller, for a time secured possession of the patriarchal chair. These despisers of the Council of Chalcedon became known as the "Monophysites," or believers in "one nature only." They were first fully organised in the sixth century. Though energetic and cultured, they became isolated from orthodox Christendom, and having suffered terribly during the Mongol and the Moslem invasions, they are still represented by the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinians, the Syrians of southern India, and a remnant in Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER XXVII

ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH

AT this period (325 to 461) parochial divisions were still very rare and the word *paroikia* meant an episcopal diocese. Alexandria, however, was divided into what we should call parishes, and both Rome and Carthage had definite divisions for certain ecclesiastical purposes. We find, too, that in the diocese of Cyrrhus during the episcopate of Theodoret the word *paroikia* was used in its modern sense. In every city where there was a bishop, the Church with its presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers formed a well-knit unity. In the East the bishops of the cities tended to subordinate the rural or village bishops (*chorepiskopoi*) to themselves in the same way as the officials in the country districts were subordinate to the civil authority of the city magistrates. In 314 the Council of Ancyra forbade the rural bishops to ordain presbyters and deacons; about 320 the Council of Neo-Caesarea speaks of them as "a type of the Seventy" (probably implying that they are not a type of the Twelve apostles like the city bishops), but it allows them to "offer the oblation" with the city bishop. The Council of Antioch in 341 presupposes their subordination to the

Episcopal Dioceses.

city bishop, and the Council of Sardica in 343 forbids the setting up of a bishop in a place where a single presbyter is sufficient. And the synod of Laodicea, somewhat later, institutes episcopal visitors who act as the bishop's commissioners and therefore make rural bishops unnecessary. There can be little doubt that the change was for the best. S. Basil found as many as fifty rural bishops in his diocese, many of them unfit for their office. He forbade them to ordain any more without his sanction. Rural bishops still continued to exist in some parts of the East, and Theodoret had many in his own diocese.[1]

In the West of Europe the country districts were still largely pagan, and there were no rural bishops. The synod of Riez in 439 gave the title of *chorepiskopus*[2] to a man who had been consecrated as bishop in an illegal manner, but this seems to be an exception. In Africa, where Christianity was very widespread, many of the bishops were in a position like that of the rural bishops, though they did not bear this name.

Diocesan synods continued to be held, and, as in earlier times, it was customary for the bishop to consult his clergy in matters of importance. The bishop and presbyters formed what S. Jerome calls a "senate."[3]

Metropolitan Constitution.

The metropolitan constitution which existed in some quarters before the Council of Nicaea (see p. 181) was assumed as necessary by that Council in Canons 4 and 5. The metropolitan is properly only the bishop who is the most important in a group of bishoprics which cover the area

[1] *Ep.* 113.

[2] For the position of Chorepiskopoi see Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book ii. chap xiv.

[3] Hieron. *Comment. in Es* 3

of a civil province, and who resides in the provincial capital. He naturally became the special guardian of the interests of the Church and bishops in that province, but it was the synod of these bishops which was really at the head of affairs, and not the metropolitan himself. The Council of Nicaea ordered that provincial synods should be held twice a year in each province. Their chief functions lay in matters of discipline and administration. Persons who felt themselves aggrieved by the decisions of an individual bishop could appeal to the provincial synod, and the synod, with or without receiving definite complaints, could proceed against any offending bishop. It also decided upon the creation of new sees, settled the limits of dioceses, and the disposal of Church property. The election of new bishops was an important duty of the synod, for the metropolitan was obliged to procure the written assent of the majority of the bishops of the province to every election. In all cases the approval of the metropolitan was necessary, and at least three bishops were required for the consecration.[1]

While it was probably intended by the Council of Nicaea that the ecclesiastical province should coincide with the civil province, it was long before they even roughly coincided in the West. In Gaul there was no full metropolitan organisation until about 400, nor in Spain until 465. In North Africa Mauretania was combined with Numidia in one ecclesiastical province, and governed not by a metropolitan but by bishops entitled "elders of the province." In Italy the central attraction of Rome militated against the formation

[1] For the election of bishops see F. E. Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1900, p. 259.

of minor metropolitan sees in the existing civil provinces.

In the East the metropolitans were soon included in a scheme of more complete centralisation. The synods which were held during the course of the Arian controversy were so numerous, and had been held at cities which were so distant from one another, that the need of a more clearly defined organisation became apparent. The need was increased by the fact that Rome and Alexandria, excellent as their influence had been, wielded a power which seemed to leave Constantinople and Antioch in the background. An outline for a new arrangement was suggested by the division of the empire which had been carried out under Diocletian. He had shaped the government of the empire into the form of a pyramid. The ninety-six provinces were gathered into twelve "dioceses," and the "dioceses" were gathered into four vast prefectures. One of these was called the prefecture of the "Oriens," and it included four "dioceses." The first was called *Oriens*, and comprised Egypt and Syria, capital Antioch; the second was *Pontus*, capital Caesarea in Cappadocia; the third was *Asia*, comprising the western third of Asia Minor, capital Ephesus; the fourth was *Thrace*, capital Heraclea. About 380 *Egypt* was separated from Syria and made a diocese, capital Alexandria.

The Eastern Patriarchates.

The Council of Constantinople in 381 made use of this civil arrangement in order to raise certain bishoprics to a position over that of the ordinary metropolitans of ecclesiastical provinces. Peter and Timothy of Alexandria and Damasus of Rome had endeavoured to secure that their own friends, Paulinus and Maximus,

should be recognised as bishops of Antioch and Constantinople. It was therefore determined to check such interference by ruling that each "diocese" should form an independent ecclesiastical unity, confederate with the others. And it was laid down in canon 2 that the chief bishops of the "dioceses" of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace should be in the position of higher metropolitans similar to that already occupied by the bishop of Alexandria. In this way each "diocese" would be free from outward interference. But even at Constantinople this plan was not strictly adhered to. For canon 3 gave to the see of Constantinople, as being "New Rome," a position immediately next to the position of honour held by the see of "Old Rome." This almost of necessity involved the subordination of the "diocese" of Thrace to Constantinople instead of Heraclea. Moreover, the political and geographical influence of Constantinople tended to absorb the dignity of the bishops of Ephesus and Caesarea, an absorption which was rendered easier by a community of race and language. S. Chrysostom, when archbishop of Constantinople, extended his authority to Asia Minor, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 secured a subordination of Pontus and Asia to Constantinople. In canon 28 of that Council it was ruled that "the same privileges of honour" should belong to the archbishop of New Rome as to the archbishop of Old Rome, "and full authority to consecrate the metropolitans of the Asian, Thracian, and Pontic dioceses." At the same time the consecration of ordinary bishops in these regions was secured from any interference on the part of Constantinople, as it was directed that they should be appointed

Constantinople.

by the majority of the bishops of their province with the confirmatory authority of the metropolitan.

Thus, in spite of the opposition of Rome and Alexandria, the East was divided into three ecclesiastical confederate states, roughly corresponding with the Greek, Egyptian, and Syrian nationalities. The bishops among the "barbarians" living in the "dioceses" subordinate to Constantinople were to be consecrated at Constantinople, so that the new races should be in the closest connection with the imperial see. Here, again, Constantinople was given a lift upward.

The position of Antioch was gradually weakened by that assigned to the half-Greek, half-Syrian see of Jerusalem. The Council of Nicaea in canon 7 gave to Jerusalem an honorary pre-eminence without prejudicing the rights of the metropolitan see of Caesarea in Palestine. Building upon this, and upon the long existing and still growing popularity of Jerusalem as a centre of Christian pilgrimages, Juvenal of Jerusalem at the Council of Ephesus in 431 tried to free himself from Caesarea and Antioch. He aimed at securing for himself the whole of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Arabia. At the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, he was so far successful as to gain recognition as the spiritual head of the three provinces of Palestine, and with that he had to be content. Thus, then, was constituted the last of the four Eastern *patriarchates*. They have remained until the present day, though their adherents have been woefully diminished in number by Moslem conquests and internal schisms. The title "patriarch" began to be applied about the close of our period to the occupants of these four great sees. The title "exarch" became confined to the

Jerusalem.

bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Ephesus, and Heraclea, while the title "archbishop," though still sometimes given to the patriarchs, became usually confined to metropolitans (see p. 383). The title of "pope" was given to the patriarch of Alexandria as well as to the bishop of Rome.

Cyprus.

At the Council of Ephesus the Church of Cyprus took advantage of the prevalent distrust of Antioch to assert its ancient independence, and it has remained "autocephalous" under the metropolitan of Constantia (Salamis).

Western Patriarchates.

In the West there was no complete organisation corresponding with the Eastern patriarchates. But the position of the bishop of Rome was analogous to that of the patriarchs. And the primate of Carthage in the province of Africa occupied a position almost identical with that of the patriarch of Alexandria, being above other metropolitans and able to consecrate bishops in their sphere of jurisdiction. At the close of the fourth century Milan occupied an almost patriarchal position, and after the death of S. Ambrose the sees of Aquileia and Ravenna were raised to the same rank as that of Milan. Then during the very period when we might have expected a full development of the patriarchal constitution in the West, that development was permanently arrested by the flood of barbarian immigration and the rapid aggrandisement of the see of Rome.

Œcumenical Councils.

Higher than the provincial Councils, and higher than any Council representing a patriarchate or group of patriarchates, was the Œcumenical, or "world-wide" Council of all the bishops of the Church. The internal government of the

Church at this period may be described as an aristocracy, under a president, the bishop of Rome. To ascertain the mind of the Church in regard to any point contained in the deposit of the faith it is conceivable that the bishop of Rome should have been treated as the spokesman of that mind, and that he alone should have been consulted. But it was considered better that the universal episcopate should meet together and express their belief rather than that the bishop of Rome should be commissioned to ascertain that belief. Moreover, as the personal decision of the bishop of Rome was not considered final or irreversible, it was necessary that irreversible decisions should be obtained by the consent of the whole governing body of the Church, and for this purpose an Œcumenical Council was the simplest method. At the same time we can discern, on the part of the bishops of Rome, an attempt to gain a monarchical position which will now be described.

The bishop of Rome occupied without question the position of the first bishop in Christendom, and what this primacy really involved is a matter of crucial importance. In 325, at the Council of Nicaea (canon 6) it was asserted that the privileges of Alexandria, like those of Rome, should remain unimpaired. The case of Rome was therefore quoted as securing the position of Alexandria. The position of the latter is well known; it was that the bishop of Alexandria should consecrate all the bishops in the three or four provinces which were attached to his Church. He was a metropolitan over the metropolitan bishops of these provinces. There were then no ecclesiastical provinces and no metropolitans in Italy, so that the canon implies that

the bishop of Rome ruled over all the dioceses of a certain region. Rufinus, and the old Latin versions of the canons, represent him as ruling over the "suburbicarian Churches," *i.e.* those of central and southern Italy. This corresponds with the ecclesiastical division of Italy as it existed when Rufinus wrote in 402. But it is possible that this division, corresponding with the civil division, was not made until the episcopate of S. Ambrose (374–397), or just before it.[1] If so, the Council of Nicaea ratified for the bishop of Rome supreme authority over all Italy, though it must have been less clearly defined in the North than in the South, the Church being far less strong in the North. In either case the canon simply recognises an exceptional, though not unique, metropolitical position in Italy. It does not recognise any jurisdiction of the pope beyond the borders of Italy. At the important Council of Arles, in Gaul, in 314, the bishop of Arles presided, in spite of the presence of the representative of the bishop of Rome, S. Silvester. And at the Council of Nicaea Hosius of Cordova presided.

An important step in the advancement of Rome was taken in the time of Pope Julius (A.D. 337–352). The Council of Sardica in 343 allowed to the bishop of Rome the right to appoint on appeal a new hearing of a bishop who has been deposed by the bishops of his province, and other similar privileges (see p. 253). The chief importance of these canons lies in the fact that they allowed the bishop of Rome, in the case of certain ecclesiastical disputes, to call into existence a judicial court of bishops, if a prelate

[1] Ambros. *Ep. ad Felicem; ad Vigil.; ad Vercell. Eccles.*

desired it. This allowed the bishop of Rome to perform a function similar to that which the emperor Constantine had performed for the empire, when Athanasius had appealed to him. The Council of Antioch, in 341, vainly prohibited such appeals to the emperor.

The next promotion of the Roman see came from the State in the time of Damasus (366–384). Gratian in 378 issued a rescript to the Vicarius Urbis, which put all metropolitans of the West under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome in the sense that, if accused, they must, in certain cases, appear before the bishop of Rome or before a Council appointed by him. Bishops were also allowed to appeal from a provincial Council to the bishop of Rome or a Council of fifteen neighbouring bishops. This rescript had no bearing on the Eastern Churches, nor was it regarded in the East as implying the existence of any divine right belonging to the bishop of Rome. The position of the Roman see in the eyes of Eastern Christendom may be judged from the fact that in 381 the Council of Constantinople recognised the see of Rome as the first in Christendom, but mentioned nothing but "privileges of honour," and by putting Constantinople next to it as "New Rome," implied that those privileges were not a matter of divine right.

The further development of Roman authority can be divided into two stages—the first extends from Siricius (384–399) to S. Leo, and the second is S. Leo's own pontificate.

Siricius marks an epoch. He definitely made it his policy to foster and develop that influence of Rome over the West which the State had recognised, and

to develop it without any reference to the State. He based his claim not on the words of Gratian to a civil governor, but on the words of our Lord to S. Peter. When consulted by the Spanish bishops, he replied in a formal decretal to Himerius of Tarragona, saying, "We bear the burden of all, or rather *the Blessed Peter* bears them in us," and he directed that his replies should be communicated to the bishops in Gaul and Africa as well as Spain, "because none of the priests of the Lord ought to be ignorant of the statutes of the apostolic see." Pope Innocent I. (401–417) formulated this claim more explicitly. He asserted that Rome is the only apostolic see of the West, and that all other Churches in the West were founded by S. Peter or his successors.[1] For the East also, Rome is the first of sees. Innocent claims a certain right of oversight over Antioch, because Antioch owes its position to the work of S. Peter in that place.[2] In later times Gregory the Great repeated this and brought in Alexandria as founded by S. Mark, the disciple of S. Peter. Innocent also wrote to John, bishop of Jerusalem, severely complaining of the disorder in his diocese. In the West Innocent was able to give a very practical meaning to his apostolic authority; for in a letter to Victricius of Rouen he quoted the Sardican canons as though they were drawn up at Nicaea. Perhaps he did this in perfect good faith, but he put on these canons a new and extended interpretation. He claimed that in all *causae majores* the Roman see might not only be appealed to, but might also give an independent

Siricius Pope.

[1] *Ep. ad Decent.*

[2] *Epp. ad Alex.*; cf. Leo, *Ep. ad Dioscor.*

final decision.[1] Innocent thereby asserted his own personal supremacy in matters of *discipline*, and took a step in judicial procedure which was as important for future ages as the action of Siricius in issuing a decretal. The Pelagian controversy in Africa also gave him the opportunity of acting as arbiter of *doctrine*. The African bishops deferentially urged upon him a certain line of action with regard to Pelagianism. Innocent took the opportunity to enlarge upon his privileges, and told the bishops "whenever a question of faith is raised, I think that all our fellow-bishops ought to refer only to Peter."[2] These words are a fair specimen of the manner in which the popes of this period asserted that S. Peter was in some way living and acting in the popes, and attempted to give a religious sanction to the position which they had acquired.

The Pope and foreign provinces.

We must further consider how this relation of the Pope to separate foreign provinces was consolidated before the pontificate of S. Leo.

Soon after the death of S. Ambrose, the imperial court was removed from Milan to Ravenna. This weakened the civil importance of Milan, and consequently its ecclesiastical influence. Large tracts of territory were separated from the jurisdiction of Milan and placed under the metropolitans of Aquileia and Ravenna, the latter of which already belonged to the jurisdiction of Rome. The authority of Rome was thus strengthened in North Italy. An interesting trace of this division of North Italy survives until this day in the use of the Milanese and the Roman liturgies in adjacent dioceses.

[1] *Ep. ad Victric.* [2] Mansi, iii. 1075 ff.

Outside Italy a vigorous effort was made by the bishops of Rome to appoint certain bishops to act as their vicars. Siricius intended to make the bishop of Tarragona his vicar in Spain, but his successors found this vicariate unnecessary. Pope Zosimus (417–418) endeavoured to establish a vicariate at Arles, in Gaul, on the alleged ground that Trophimus, the first bishop of Arles, was a disciple of S. Peter and sent from Rome. The Gallic metropolitans opposed, and Pope Boniface (418–422) left them their rights, the more readily as the political divisions of Gaul were altered and the vicariate was likely to be less effective. Eastern Illyricum, which in 379 was separated from the Western Empire and attached to the Eastern Empire, Damasus endeavoured to retain in his own jurisdiction. Siricius and Innocent went further. They treated the bishop of Thessalonica as their own representative to Illyricum, and their successors gave him the title of Vicar.

Africa, with its six well-organised provinces and regular synods, was best calculated to resist any attempt to transform the Roman primacy of honour into an autocratic jurisdiction. Zosimus learnt this to his cost. His support of Caelestius, the Pelagian, and his protection of Apiarius, a profligate African presbyter deposed by his own bishop, aroused the successful opposition of the African bishops. The envoys of Zosimus claimed a right to intervene on the ground that the Council of Nicaea had authorised appeals to Rome. The bishops of Africa would not admit this, and on making careful inquiries in the East, they found that the Eastern copies of the Nicene decrees agreed with their own. Transactions dragged on under Boni-

face and under Celestine (422–432), who also tried to shield Apiarius. They resulted in full proof of the guilt of Apiarius and a courteous, but emphatic, repudiation by the African bishops of the principle of carrying causes out of the country where they had arisen.[1] It should be noticed that this repudiation seems indirectly to disregard even the canons of Sardica, but it nevertheless was not censured by Rome. The African Church therefore succeeded in asserting its complete independence of any jurisdiction but that of an Œcumenical Council.

S. Leo, Pope.

S. Leo (440–461) carried out the policy of Siricius and Innocent I. He was aided by strong religious convictions, great political skill, and uncommon good fortune. With untiring zeal, he tried to secure his supremacy first over the West, and then over the East. His own theory was clear; it was that the bishop of Rome has precisely the authority which S. Peter had. Full weight is given by him to the famous Petrine texts, and then it is argued that what was given to the other apostles was given through S. Peter, Christ "never gave except through him whatever he did not deny to others,"[2] and "the firmness which is given by Christ to Peter, is conferred by Peter on the apostles."[3] Thus he is "prince of the apostles" and "rules personally those whom Christ rules supremely."[4] Rome, the centre of the nations and of heathen darkness, was made by God the centre of the Church and of Christian truth. Therefore the chief of the apostles founded the Roman Church, and his authority lives on in his successors.

[1] Mansi, iv. 516.
[2] Leo, *Sermo*, iii. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 3.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. 4.

In connection with S. Leo it must be noted that before 445 the current form of canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea in Italian copies contained the words "the Church of Rome always had the primacy." This falsification appears to be rather a paraphrase than a forgery. It says nothing about any universal primacy of Rome, for it uses the words "primacy" in the sense of a patriarchal jurisdiction. This is shown by its further statement, "In other provinces let the Churches of the larger cities have the *primacy*." But, whereas this paraphrase does not really favour any claim to universal primacy on the part of Rome, it could easily be quoted so as to appear to do so.[1]

In North Italy Milan appears to have remained quite independent, whereas S. Leo wrote in the tone of a superior to Aquileia.

Outside Italy he effected much. Spain was thrown into confusion by the invasions of the Goths, but S. Leo seems to have secured the holding of synods in Galicia and Toledo against Priscillianism.[2] The African Church was shattered by the invasion of the Vandals, and its one remaining province was naturally drawn closer under the influence of Rome.[3] In Gaul, Hilary of Arles, relying on the position granted to Arles by Pope Zosimus, proceeded against the bishop of Besançon in a Gallic synod for contravening the canons of the Church. The latter appealed to Leo, and both bishops went to Rome. Hilary openly challenged the right of Rome to decide the question, and the result was that Arles was deprived of both its primacy and its metro-

S. Leo and the West.

[1] See W. Bright, *The Age of the Fathers*, vol. ii. p. 546.
[2] *Ep.* xv. [3] *Ep.* i.

politan dignity. S. Leo was apparently determined to suppress the growth of a rival power to Rome, though he did not deprive Hilary of his bishopric, as later popes would certainly have done. But he obtained from the emperor Valentinian III. in 445 an edict asserting that the bishops of Gaul were under the authority of the "Venerable Pope of the eternal city." Hilary died in 449, and was followed by Ravennius, at whose request and that of other bishops of the province Arles was restored to its primacy. The tone of their letter gave S. Leo every reason to believe that they acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and he therefore felt no further difficulties.

In Illyricum he organised the vicariate of Thessalonica (see p. 394). He saw that the possession of Thessalonica was crucial. It proved whether the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction was limited to the Western Empire or extended over the whole Church. But he found that the bishop of Thessalonica was acting as an independent patriarch, and in 446 reprehended him accordingly. His efforts were not permanently successful. Even in 453 Illyricum was endeavouring to connect itself with Constantinople, and before long the new connection was established.

S. Leo certainly raised the prestige of the Roman see in the East. After the "Council of Brigands" in 449, Flavian of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus appealed to Leo and to a Council under his leadership. Theodoret's letter[1] emphasises the primacy of the Roman see as founded on the faith of the Romans and the possession of the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul, and though he says nothing about any

S. Leo and the East.

[1] *Ep.* 113.

supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, he says to to the pope, "I await the decision of your apostolic see." Leo of course welcomed this appeal, and vainly endeavoured to secure the meeting of a Council in Italy. When the Council met at Chalcedon in 451 it ratified his Tome on the doctrine of the Incarnation, but it did not ratify Leo's acquittal of Theodoret until Theodoret had completely cleared himself of every suspicion of Nestorianism. At the close of the Council a vigorous dispute arose with regard to canon 28, which decided that the archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, ought to enjoy the same privileges of honour as the archbishop of Old Rome, his see having the second place, and should consecrate the metropolitans in the Asian, Thracian, and Pontic "dioceses" (see p. 385). To this canon the Roman legates firmly objected, and supported their protest by quoting the Italian falsification of canon 6 of Nicaea. The Easterns soon showed that the Italian text was corrupt, but the legates still protested. They saw that the new canon made Constantinople all but the equal of Rome, and that it suggested that the pope of Rome derived his honour solely from the civil greatness of the city. Leo, who traced his prerogatives from S. Peter and not from the rank of his city, agreed with them. And though the Council of Chalcedon ratified the canon, Leo persuaded the emperor Marcian, and through Marcian persuaded the patriarch of Constantinople, to withdraw the canon in 454. This withdrawal was a brilliant success for Leo, but subsequent Greek patriarchs saw no reason why this canon of an Œcumenical Council should be disregarded, and they acted upon it with the approval of the emperors. The canon was reaffirmed, still without the assent of Rome, at the

sixth Œcumenical Council in 680. Thus the policy of Leo, with its masterful centralisation, had no continuing result in the East. But in the West it imprinted on the Church a monarchical form of government at the very time when the weakness of the empire and the rise of half-barbarous kingdoms made an ecclesiastical monarchy the most potent of all governments.

To sum up the authority of the Roman see between 325 and 461 we can affirm:—

(1) The bishop of Rome was universally acknowledged to have a primacy of honour over the whole Church, and, according to the old Latin versions of the Nicene canons, to have a supreme jurisdiction over central and southern Italy. Appeals to him were also made by individuals even in the East.

(2) The Western Council of Sardica in 343 gave the bishop of Rome a definite prerogative in the case of certain appeals from foreign Western Churches. Nevertheless, the African Church, which was one of the most important Western Churches, seems not to have recognised this prerogative.

(3) An endeavour was made by certain popes to assert an absolute right of jurisdiction over the whole West and in some degree over the East also. This claim met with varying success in the West, and with almost total failure in the East. It could only be allowed where it was held that to be out of communion with the pope was tantamount to being out of communion with S. Peter. The Church as a whole was not disposed to believe this, and Meletius of Antioch, who presided at the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople in 381, was recognised as a saint in both the East and the West, though he lived and died out of communion with the see of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SOCIAL LIFE AND WORSHIP

THE influx of the world into the Church naturally brought with it a wave of corruption. And the very suppression of pagan worship, while it removed the outward appearance of certain vices, sometimes drove these vices to assume a Christian mask. In social life the sharp line between Christian and pagan morality disappeared. Late in the fourth century S. Chrysostom denounces the splendid palaces and baths of wealthy Christians, and Asterius of Amasea describes the luxurious banquets at which Christians amused themselves with the performances of dancing girls and buffoons. He speaks also of the gorgeous dresses of Christians who walked abroad in clothes embroidered with sacred miracles. S. Jerome attacks the young deacons of Rome, who with perfumes and curls and rings sang love-songs to fashionable audiences and returned home with their hands full of gold. The dreary frivolity and indolent despair of pagan life were tending to quench the true Christian gaiety and vigour.

Nevertheless, the Church was acting as leaven in a lump of dough. A few facts will illustrate the nature of her laws and the application of those laws in concrete instances. An elevating influence on social life was exercised by the numerous edicts in favour of public

morality made by Constantine and Theodosius. To these we must add the prohibition of gladiatorial shows at Rome, caused by the heroic conduct of a Christian monk Telemachus (A.D. 404). He flung himself into the arena to prevent a fight, and though he paid for his courage by his life, his death produced so great an impression that the darling amusement of the Roman populace also received its death-blow. His courage in the cause of humanity finds parallels in the excommunication of Theodosius by S. Ambrose (p. 287), in the excommunication of Andronicus, governor of Berenice, by Synesius for brutally torturing a prisoner of noble rank, and in the fearless advice of Isidore of Pelusium to all sorts of officials, including S. Cyril himself. Slaves were still kept, but we find S. Chrysostom in the spirit of earlier Christians asking, "Has not thy slave, thy sister in Christ, an immortal soul like thyself?" When the same saint was at Antioch the Church supported no less than 3,000 widows and virgins, and when archbishop of Constantinople he regularly provided for 7,700 necessitous persons. The Church had hospitals, hostelries, homes for the poor, and orphanages, in which the emperor Julian recognised one of the secrets of Christian success.

Humanity.

Side by side with compassion went chastity. The Church steadily maintained that unchastity is a mortal sin. Concubinage was condemned as well as the grosser sins of impurity. Strong efforts were made to guard the sacredness of marriage. The synods of Elvira and Neo-Caesarea forbade marriage with a deceased wife's sister or deceased husband's brother, and in 355 the State made this prohibition its

Marriage.

own. The marriage of uncle and niece was forbidden, apparently by the State in the first instance. The lax standard of the State with regard to divorce made it extremely difficult for the Church to maintain the indissoluble character of marriage. The Council of Arles in 314 in canon 10 did not absolutely forbid the marriage of one whose wife had been divorced on account of adultery. The same view is taken by S. Epiphanius and once by S. Jerome.[1] S. Augustine hesitates.[2] S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and Pope Innocent I. take a more rigorous view and oppose the remarriage of either party after a divorce. While the remarriage of the guilty party was universally condemned, there was not as yet a consensus as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the remarriage of the innocent party. There is evidence to show that in spite of the Church's crusade on behalf of purity, vice was very prevalent in Africa and Gaul. And S. Jerome's depreciation of marriage as compared with celibacy was so exaggerated, that wherever such teaching was accepted, saint and sinner combined in regarding marriage as only a necessary evil.

Baptism and Confirmation.

The practice of the Church with regard to the training of catechumens, and the administration of baptism and confirmation, between 325 and 461 was substantially the same as in the preceding century (see p. 203 ff). Candidates were admitted to the catechumenate by a signing with the cross and the laying on of hands, and in the West they were given a taste of salt in token of the savour of wisdom which befits a Christian. If they desired to be

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* 59, 4; Hieron. *Ep.* 77, 3.

[2] *de Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, I. xvii.; *de Fide et Oper.* xix.

fully admitted into the Church they were placed in a class known as the *electi*, *competentes*, or φωτιζόμενοι (recipients of enlightenment). They were carefully instructed during the course of Lent. The catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, of S. Augustine, and Nicetas show what this course of instruction was like. At the end of Lent took place the teaching of the creed, or *traditio symboli*, and finally the *redditio symboli*, or recital of the creed, by the candidates. In the West this recital was preceded by the ceremony of the *Effeta* or *Ephpheta*, in which the lips and ears of the candidates were touched with saliva, as Christ had touched the deaf and dumb man that he might hear and speak. The time for baptisms was the night of Easter Even. The candidates were received in the vestibule of the baptistery, and the ceremony began by their renunciation of Satan. In the West the renunciation had been made previously in the morning. The actual ceremonies of baptism in the East were as follows:—[1]

(1) The candidates unrobed and entered the baptistery, where they were anointed with oil. In the case of female candidates this anointing was performed by deaconesses.

(2) They entered the baptismal water, which had been previously blessed by the bishop. They confessed their faith in a threefold answer to the bishop's interrogations, and water was then poured over them.

(3) Having left the water, they were anointed with perfumed oil or chrism. The bishop signed them with

[1] For these ceremonies see Mgr. L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 292 ff. (2nd edition).

the cross with this oil, and apparently laid his hands upon them, thus administering Confirmation.

(4) The bishop then celebrated the Eucharist, and Holy Communion was given to the baptised.

The ceremonies in the West were very similar. In parts of the Greek-speaking world a presbyter was permitted to confirm the candidates with chrism blessed by the bishop, if the bishop was not present. Hence in the Eastern Church at the present day, if no bishop is present, the only Confirmation is this unction administered by a priest. The same practice existed in Gaul. But it was distinctly forbidden in Italy by Pope Innocent I., who, in his letter to Decentius, points out that in Acts viii. 17 apostles were required for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit.

Schools.

Until the fourth century Christians could not secure education for their children unless they sent them to heathen schools. When heathenism had fallen, classical culture still remained. In fact, the principal cause of the long duration of the Eastern Empire was that Greek culture formed a bond of language and manners which was strong enough to resist the defects of a bad government. We have already mentioned certain examples of this culture. The Apostolic Constitutions, i. 6, urge Christians to "refrain from all the writings of the heathen," but this drastic rule was not acted upon. S. Jerome regards a classical education as a necessity, and S. Basil, in his treatise *To the Young*, inculcates attention to the best pagan writers. The teaching of boys and girls on Christian principles began in connection with the monasteries. We find the establishment of schools in connection with the monasteries of Pachomius and

Schnoudi in Egypt, of S. Jerome in Palestine, of S. Basil in Asia Minor, and S. Chrysostom speaks of others in the neighbourhood of Antioch. The pupils of these monastic schools sometimes entered the monastic life. But this was not always the case. S. Chrysostom urges that children, after a long training, perhaps of ten or twenty years, can return to ordinary life with a strong moral character. S. Basil lays down that the young are not to be admitted too soon among the professed monks. His rules for the life of the young people in his monastery are marked by good sense. They are to be placed under a man of mature years, who shall rebuke their faults with "fatherly gentleness and tactful words." Only at the times of prayer are they to meet the older members of the community, "for the children are wont to be stirred to compunction by the example of the more perfect, and the prayers of children are of no little aid to the more advanced in years."[1]

Penitential Discipline.

The Church continued to combat sin in her members by a penitential discipline which witnessed to the need of holiness. We have already noticed the method pursued in earlier times (see p. 138) with regard to the absolution of repentant sinners, and we need only show how this method developed. Soon after A.D. 300, Marcellus, bishop of Rome, selected twenty-five churches to be served by special presbyters "for baptism and penitence," which implies, as we find from a later statement, that these presbyters were appointed to prepare converts for baptism and penitents for absolution. The Apostolic

[1] Basil, *Reg. fus. tr.* xv.

Constitutions, ii. 48, provide that the bishop shall pass a preliminary judgment on the penitent, and impose a discipline fitted to the offence. S. Augustine maintained that if a man judged himself to have sinned, he was to refrain from approaching Holy Communion, and to "come to the bishops by whom those keys in the Church are administered."[1] In A.D. 416, Innocent, bishop of Rome, writes: "Those who do penance either for more grievous sins or for lighter sins that they have committed, if no sickness intervenes, the custom of the Roman Church shows must be forgiven on the Thursday before Easter."[2] These and other facts make it quite plain that there was a regular institution for the absolution both of greater and of lesser sins.

Private Confession.

At Constantinople this sacramental confession was temporarily suspended in A.D. 391 on account of the action of Archbishop Nectarius. A "penitentiary presbyter" appointed to hear confessions was approached by a lady who made "a detailed confession of the sins which she had committed after her baptism."[3] The presbyter directed her to perform certain works meet for repentance, when "the woman continuing accused herself of another fall," viz. sinful intercourse with a deacon. The deacon was deposed in consequence of this statement of his accomplice in guilt. The scandal which the affair created caused Nectarius to abolish the office of the penitentiary presbyter, not because auricular confession led to immorality, but because it led to the detection of immorality. His example was followed

[1] *Sermo*, cccli. 9. [2] *Ep. ad Decentium.*
[3] Socrates, *H. E.* v. 19; Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 16.

in other Greek dioceses. Socrates and Sozomen both seem to regret this step, believing that it encouraged everyone to approach the Holy Communion too much at his own discretion. Sozomen shows that the old penitential institutions were "carefully kept in the Western Churches, and especially in that of the Romans." He mentions the confession made to the priest, who directs penitential works to be done and dismisses the penitent. The penitents are placed apart at the Eucharist, are specially prayed for by the bishop, and are readmitted to the body of the faithful on a fixed day. This was at the end of Lent, a season which had been instituted in the fourth century as a time for preparing converts for baptism and penitents for absolution.

Second Absolutions

From Siricius, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Leo we find that late in the fourth and early in the fifth century, only one opportunity of reconciliation was granted to those who had been guilty of the worst sins. Yet S. Augustine encouraged even those who have twice fallen to hope for forgiveness.[1] The first introduction of the practice of granting absolution after a second fall into such sins is associated with the name of S. Chrysostom (A.D. 397), who was accused of allowing repentance more than once, and saying, "Repent a thousand times, and come in."[2] It should be noted that this accusation makes it seem probable that even when the office of penitentiary presbyter was abolished, the bishop occasionally heard confessions himself. According to the most probable interpretation of S. Leo, he desired in some cases a yearly confession of "lighter sins."

[1] *Ep.* 153, 7 *ad Macedonium.* [2] Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 21.

He lays great stress on the importance of every Christian examining his conscience and not putting off the time of conversion and of making amends. He speaks earnestly to those "who have passed either in too much security, or perchance in too much negligence almost the whole span of a year," and urges on them "the medicine of penitence."[1] He does not here seem to be dealing with the case of gross sinners, but only those whose conscience is less troubled than it ought to be. His advice to the careless to examine themselves after a year of negligence therefore seems to imply the very practice mentioned by his predecessor Innocent, namely, the absolution of lesser offences together with more serious offences on the Thursday before Easter. The increased frequency of such confession was perhaps urged in order to counteract the Pelagianism which told men that they needed no inward grace and must rely upon their own nature.

The period of penitence was passed in an ascetic manner. The penitent was forbidden to marry or to exercise any public or ecclesiastical functions, and was bidden to be austere in food, drink, and dress. The state of a penitent was considered as a kind of repetition of the catechumenate under the direction of a penitentiary presbyter instead of a catechist. In church the penitents formed a group apart, and like the catechumens they were dismissed before the most solemn part of the divine liturgy. According to the most fully developed system, the discipline of penitents extended over four classes, (i.) the mourners (*flentes*, προσκλαίοντες) candidates for restoration to the Church, who stood in mourning dress at the church

[1] *Sermo*, xlii. 3 and *Ep. ad Theodor. Forojul.* 5.

doors, supplicating for restoration; (ii.) the hearers (*audientes*, ἀκούοντες) who were admitted to hear the first part of the liturgy and the sermon; (iii.) the kneelers (*succumbentes*, ὑποπίπτοντες) who were admitted within the nave of the church and not confined to the portico; (iv.) the standing penitents (*consistentes*, συνιστάμενοι) who were allowed to stand all through the Eucharist, but not to communicate. These divisions did not exist in the West, and they were by no means universal in the East. In Antioch they were apparently unknown, and the time of penitence was ordinarily the seven weeks of Lent.

Fast Days.

In the East and in part of the West the ordinary fast days continued to be Wednesday and Friday, but in Rome Friday and Saturday were observed as fasts. Lent was widely observed in the East before 360, but first appears in the West in the writings of S. Ambrose. It was primarily a season of austerity and retirement, especially consecrated to the instruction of catechumens and penitents. The length varied from six (?) weeks in Rome to seven at Constantinople and eight in some Eastern districts. This variation was caused by the facts that (*a*) Lent was in some places reckoned as including Holy Week and Sundays, in others not; (*b*) fasting was in some places continuous, and in other places was relieved by intervals on which fasting was not required.[1]

Preaching.

The period from 350 to 461 was a period of great preachers, in both the East and the West. Preaching was regarded in a very special sense as the duty of the bishop. But at Antioch a presbyter sometimes spoke first and was followed by the bishop.

[1] Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22; Mgr. L. Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 243.

A similar custom existed at Jerusalem, as is shown by *Peregrinatio Silviae*, the journal of a Spanish lady, who gives a most valuable account of the services held at Jerusalem about 385. In the middle of the fourth century the presbyters preached in some parts of Egypt, but at Alexandria only the bishop preached. The synod of Laodicea only speaks of the bishop's homilies. And Celestine, bishop of Rome, about 422 reserved the right of preaching expressly to the bishops. Some earnest prelates preached very frequently. S. Chrysostom preached daily in Lent, and he, like S. Basil and S. Augustine, preached twice on Sundays. Other great preaching bishops were S. Leo of Rome, Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, and Maximus of Turin. The Greek taste for rhetoric led to sermons which were of the character of religious orations or panegyrics on the martyrs. But we also find expositions of Scripture such as those delivered by S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and S. Augustine, or definite doctrinal instructions on the Trinity (S. Gregory of Nazianzum) or the Incarnation (S. Cyril, S. Leo), or the moral and spiritual teaching in which S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine excelled.

Canon of Scripture.

Of great importance for the instruction of the faithful and for the unity of the Church, was the final settlement of the list of the canonical books of the New Testament. This was done for the East at Laodicea in 363, and for the West at Rome in 382, at Hippo in 393, and Carthage in 397. Thus the Revelation, ii. S. Peter, ii. and iii. S. John were finally admitted into the Canon of the Catholic Church. In remote regions some uncertainty still prevailed about the formerly disputed books, and the

Syrian lists of the canonical books varied in proportion as the writers were or were not in connection with the orthodox Greek Churches.

The liturgy of the Eucharist universally followed the lines which have been sketched above (p. 200). There was a sharp distinction between the two parts: the first was mainly composed of "instruction," and was open to persons who were being prepared for Baptism. It came, therefore, to be called, though not at this period, the *Mass of the Catechumens*. The second part of the service consisted of the "mysteries," and was open only to the baptised. This received the name of the *Mass of the Faithful*.

The divine Liturgy.

§ i. The Mass of the Catechumens. S. Ambrose says, "After the lessons and sermon the catechumens are dismissed."[1] There were:—

The Lessons from the Bible. These were not less than three in number, the two last being the Epistle and Gospel. Three lessons are still read in the Milanese and Armenian rites, and on certain days in the Roman rite. Between the Epistle and Gospel was sung a psalm.

The Sermon.

The Dismissals of any non-Christians who might be present and any catechumens who were being prepared for Baptism. After the dismissals the doors were shut. The word "missa" was still used in its original sense of "dismissal," and so S. Augustine, sermon 49, says, "After the sermon the *missa catechumenorum* takes place; the faithful will remain." This word "missa" (in English

[1] *Ep.* 20 *ad Marcell.*

"mass") became transferred from these solemn dismissals to the Eucharist in which the dismissals occurred. And there is some reason for thinking that this use of the word already existed.[1]

§ ii. The Mass of the Faithful—Preparatory Section.

Prayers of the faithful for various blessings.

The Kiss of peace.

The Oblation of the bread and wine and water.

In Rome and Africa the Kiss was not given until just before Communion.

§ iii. The Consecration.

The *Lift up your hearts*, etc.

A solemn prayer of thanksgiving, including (*α*) The praise of God's Being and His work in creation, and the hymn of praise, *Holy, holy, holy*, uttered in union with the angels who praised God before the Incarnation.

A continuation of the thanksgiving, including (*β*) The commemoration of our Lord's work in redeeming us, and an account of the institution of the Eucharist with a repetition of the words then used by our Lord.

A special oblation of the elements and an invocation of the Holy Spirit or divine Word to make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ.

An intercession for the living and the dead (in Egypt this came in later times to be placed before the *Sanctus*). At Rome Innocent I. maintains that the intercessions should be in this section of

[1] Ambros. *Ep.* 20; Innoc. I. *Ep.* xvii. 12; Leo, *Ep. ad Dioscor.*

the liturgy;[1] but it is probable that they were originally at Rome, as still in the Mozarabic rite, immediately after the oblation of the bread and the wine in § ii.

The Lord's Prayer.

§ iv. The Communion, Etc.

The fraction or breaking of the bread and other manual acts, including generally the elevation of the Sacrament.

The Communion, during which a psalm was generally sung.

A Thanksgiving for Communion.

The Dismissal of the faithful.

To understand the scheme of the third section of the service it should be noticed that immediately after commemorating the institution of these mysteries by our Lord, the liturgies contain a commemoration of His passion, resurrection, and ascension. Then, when the commemoration seems to reach to Pentecost, there comes an invocation (*epiklêsis*) of God's power. Usually it was asked that the Holy Spirit might make the bread and the wine become the body and the blood of Christ. But in Egypt it was asked that the divine Word of God might effect the consecration, and at Rome that the "Angel" of God might carry the bread and wine to the altar of God on high. This Angel probably means the Word or Son of God, for the early Christians sometimes applied this name to the Second Person of the Trinity. The carrying of the "gifts" to heaven does not signify any local

[1] *Ep. ad Decentium.*

transference, but the fact that in the Eucharist the worship of earth is blent with that of heaven. In the East the tendency arose to regard the *epiklêsis* as the centre of gravity in the consecration of the Sacrament, and to hold that the consecration was not complete until this prayer was spoken. In the West there was a tendency to regard the words, "This is my body," "This is my blood," as the centre of gravity,[1] so that in the course of time the consecration was believed to be completed by these words. The result was that the Roman *epiklêsis*, which was still correctly understood by S. Gregory in the sixth century, was misunderstood in the Middle Ages, and interpreted by Pope Innocent III. to be a prayer for the acceptance of our prayers and not of our oblations.[2]

National Varieties of the Liturgy.

While the liturgy was substantially the same throughout the Christian world, there were certain families of the liturgy showing national divergencies. These families were as follows:—

(i) *The West Syrian Rite.*—This was said in Greek and was used at Antioch. Light is thrown upon it by the writings of S. John Chrysostom, and also by the Apostolic Constitutions, an important manual of ecclesiastical life containing numerous liturgical formulae, and written at Antioch about 375. This West Syrian rite is still represented by the Greek liturgy of S. James. When the Syrian Monophysites separated from the Greek Church, they began to employ a Syriac version of this liturgy.

[1] Ambros. *de Bened.*, ix. 38; *de Mysteriis*, ix.: Aug. *Sermo*, ccxxvii.

[2] Innocent III., *Mysteriorum*, l. v. c. vi.

The Palestinian Rite, once used at Jerusalem, is closely akin to that of Antioch. Our knowledge of it is derived from S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Jerome, and the *Peregrinatio Silviae.*

(ii) *The East Syrian or Persian Rite.*—This rite is now only known to us in a Nestorian form. But the liturgy bears the name of "the apostles Addai and Mari," both of whom lived long before the rise of Nestorianism. It is in the Syriac language.

(iii) *The Byzantine Rite.*—This rite comprises three liturgies—that of S. John Chrysostom, that of S. Basil, and that of S. Gregory Dialogos. Originally in Greek, it is now also used in very many languages, as it has become the rite of all the Orthodox Eastern Churches.

The Armenian Rite is an offshoot of the Byzantine, the Armenians having been in close connection with Constantinople at the close of the fourth century.

(iv) *The Egyptian Rite.*—The earliest form of the Egyptian rite which we possess is to be found among the prayers of Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, of the fourth century. It is in Greek, like the more developed Egyptian rite, known as the "Liturgy of S. Mark." The majority of Egyptian Christians adopted the Monophysite heresy, and emphasised their separation from the Greeks by using a Coptic version of the "Liturgy of S. Mark," which they still employ. The *Abyssinian* liturgies are very numerous, and are of the Egyptian type.[1]

(v) and (vi) *The two Western Rites, the Roman* and the *non-Roman.*—The historical relation between these two rites is still involved in great obscurity. It is

[1] For a full account of the Eastern liturgies see F. E. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies.*

quite certain that in the sixth century there existed two distinct forms of worship in Western Christendom—the Roman, used in central Italy, and another form used with different variations in Spain, North Italy and Gaul, and hence sometimes called Gallican. At a later period the two rites greatly influenced each other, and the Roman, after borrowing extensively from the non-Roman rite, everywhere supplanted it except in the diocese of Milan and in Toledo, where the so-called "Ambrosian" and "Mozarabic" liturgies respectively survive. Both the Roman and the non-Roman rites show Greek features, though in different particulars. It is probable that the liturgy at Rome was occasionally said in Greek as late as 365, that the Latin liturgy at Rome in the fourth century was nearer to the non-Roman liturgies than it was in the sixth century, and that after the cessation of Greek services in Rome the Latin liturgy was deliberately modified under Greek influences. On the other hand, the connection between Milan and the East in the fourth century, and the long prevalence of the Greek language at Marseilles, make it legitimate for us to conjecture that the non-Roman Western liturgies borrowed from the East independently of Rome.

In the British Islands the Celtic Churches used a Gallican rite, or Gallican mixed with Roman, while the English Church, when it was founded, used the Roman rite of the period.

Doctrine of the Eucharist.

The doctrine of the Eucharist taught by the fathers of this period agrees with that of S. Justin Martyr and S. Irenaeus. It is strongly taught that the bread and the wine become the body and the blood of Christ, without a materialistic

change, and that the Eucharist is a sacrificial act, though not a repetition of what was done on Calvary. The outward emblems are types of spiritual realities, which are really present, and Christ is offered to the Father in the Eucharist where He and His faithful members are inseparably offered together. S. Augustine especially emphasises this double aspect of the sacrifice, and S. Chrysostom and S. Ambrose especially emphasise the identity of the priestly work of Christ in the earthly offering with His priestly work in heaven. The duty of adoring Christ present in the sacrament is seldom inculcated, but is assumed to be lawful by each of these three great writers.

Some Liturgical Customs.

The Holy Communion was received in both kinds, and with very rare exceptions both priest and people took no food before communicating.[1] It seems to have been regarded as unimportant whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used, and our authorities are sometimes ambiguous. But from S. Cyprian and S. Augustine we should gather that unleavened bread was used in the West. The Syrians also used unleavened bread. But the Greeks probably used leavened bread, and S. Epiphanius seems to criticise the Ebionites for using unleavened. The chalice contained wine and water mixed. This was probably universal until the Armenians, in 526, sanctioned the use of wine only, in order to signify that Christ had only one nature after the Incarnation. Incense was used, probably more in the East than in the West. It is recorded that Constantine gave censers to S. Peter's Church at Rome. Incense is mentioned by Silvia at Jerusalem in 385;

[1] Aug. *Ep.* 54 *ad Januarium.*

the Apostolic Canons and Apostolic Constitutions testify to its use in Syria about the same period; S. Chrysostom refers to it plainly,[1] and S. Ambrose seems to refer to it.[2] The holy sacrament was reserved in both kinds for the sick. Optatus seems to imply reservation in Africa in 365.[3] In 397, when S. Ambrose was dying at Milan, a priest brought to him the Lord's body.[4] S. Jerome in 398 speaks of a poor bishop, as carrying the Lord's body in a wicker basket, His blood in a vessel of glass.[5] S. Basil shows us that reservation was practised with his approval in Asia Minor,[6] S. Chrysostom testifies to the custom at Constantinople,[7] S. Cyril in Egypt,[8] and S. Sahak, chief bishop of the Armenians, shows us the custom of the then orthodox Church of that country by forbidding the sacrament to be carried into houses "except only in cases of sickness."[9]

Divine Service.

Divine service varied considerably in different countries, and there was a general tendency to increase the number of services for the benefit of the monastic communities which were spreading so rapidly in all directions. In Egypt, even in the fifth century, the monks still recited nothing but the primitive offices of the hours of cock-crow and lamp-lighting. In Spain the poet Prudentius wrote hymns for cock-crow, dawn, evening, and bed time, but these hymns were probably meant for private use. In Syria and Mesopotamia the monks met at the third,

[1] *Hom. in Matt.* 88. [2] *de Cain et Abel*, 19.
[3] *de Schismate Donatistarum*, lib. ii.
[4] *Ambrosii Vita per Paulinum.* [5] *Ep.* 95 *ad Rusticum.*
[6] *Ep.* 93 *ad Caesariam Patriciam.* [7] *Ep. ad Innocentium.*
[8] *Ep. ad Calosyrium.*
[9] *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1898, p. 828 ff.

sixth, and ninth hours of the day, in addition to the hours of cock-crow and sunset. Here we see already the beginning of Terce, Sext, None. At Bethlehem a morning service was added after the service at cock-crow, and thus there were already six daily services. The text in Psalm cxix., in which the writer declares that he praises God seven times a day, furnished an example of piety which the monks determined to imitate, and they reached the number seven by singing, in addition to the Nocturnal Office sung at cock-crow, another service at dawn called Lauds, or "praises." A description of the combined Nocturnal Office and Lauds as sung at Jerusalem about 385 is given in the *Peregrinatio Silviae*. They consisted of psalms, biblical canticles, antiphons, and prayers. All these services were chiefly for monks and nuns. But on Saturday night or Sunday morning the Nocturnal Office at Jerusalem was preceded by the ancient Vigil (*vigiliae* or *excubiae*). To this the laity were expected to come. Three psalms were said, each followed by a prayer. Then follow three prayers, and incense is brought in and the church is filled with perfume; the bishop then reads a lesson on the resurrection from the gospel. After a psalm and a prayer the bishop blesses the people, and he and most of the laity retire.

Here the Nocturnal Office was distinct from the Vigil. But at Rome the Nocturnal Office and the Vigil were identical. At Rome this office began at cock-crow, and on Sundays the churches were crowded at that hour. For a long time there was a sharp and reasonable distinction between the frequent services of the monks and the fewer services required of the secular clergy. In 529 the latter were only required to chant

evening service and the Nocturnal Office and Lauds. The name Mattins properly belongs to Lauds, but in later usage became transferred to the Nocturnal Office.[1]

Dress of the Clergy.

The dress of the clergy was that of the Roman gentry of the period. The principal garments were the *tunica* and the *paenula*, now called in northern Europe the alb and chasuble. The dalmatic, or shorter tunic with open sleeves, was occasionally worn over the lower tunic in and after the third century. In the East a linen stole was also worn in the fourth century.

Church Festivals.

The Christian Kalendar represents the transfiguration of Jewish tradition. The Christians inherited from the Jews the custom of observing one holy day in every week, and what Sunday was for every week, Easter, the Christian Passover, was for every year. The other great turning-points in the life of the incarnate Saviour gradually became the centres of devotion, and thus each year became an exhibition of the historic creed of Christendom. S. Chrysostom speaks of the feasts of the Theophany (Epiphany), Easter, the Ascension, and Pentecost as streams flowing out from Christmas. This last festival assumed a new importance between 350 and 450. In the West the observance of December 25th as the birthday of our Lord can probably be traced as early as Julius Africanus in 221, and is definitely mentioned in the Philocalian Kalendar of 354. But it is certain that at this period January 6th was observed in Syria and Palestine in honour of both our Lord's baptism and His birth, and in Cyprus in honour of His

[1] For the Divine Office see P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*. Longmans, 1898.

birth only. But in the reign of Theodosius, about the time of the Council of Constantinople in 381, all the Greek-speaking Churches adopted from the West December 25th as the date of our Lord's nativity. And early in the fifth century the West adopted January 6th as the festival of the appearing of our Lord to the magi. In this way East and West were united in their festal worship as they were united in their creed. The Armenians never adopted December 25th, and still observe January 6th as their Christmas Day.

The Purification, February 2nd, was observed in Jerusalem in 385, and is the oldest festival in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

When the date of Christmas was fixed several commemorations of eminent saints were connected with it. At the end of the fourth century the Church in Asia Minor observed December 26th in honour of S. Stephen, December 27th in honour of S. James and S. John, the sons of Zebedee, December 28th in honour of S. Peter and S. Paul. In the West we find that S. Peter and S. Paul were specially commemorated on June 29th, the day on which their relics were removed to the place called "At the Catacombs," on the Appian Way, in 258. December 28th was therefore left free in the West to be dedicated to the memory of the Holy Innocents. June 24th was observed in the West early in the fifth century in honour of S. John Baptist. August 29th is a Gallican festival in honour of his martyrdom.

Besides these festivals, the festivals of martyrs were observed locally in the districts where the martyrs had suffered. Gradually these commemorations affected a wider circle, and the introduction of special services

for these days into the service books carried them into different countries of the Christian world.[1]

Veneration of the Saints.

In the fourth and fifth centuries we find a growth in the expression of veneration for the saints who are now "with Christ." This veneration had its roots in different sentiments. The certainty that "God is not the God of the dead but of the living," and that all the departed saints are alive unto Him, and the belief that Christians on earth are compassed by "a cloud of witnesses" (Heb. xii. 1.) led the Christians to request the departed for their prayers. Such prayers are found on tombs which are probably earlier than 325. In accordance with what is still the custom in the East, such prayers were addressed to departed friends and not only to the greater saints. Reverence for the martyrs who had been the heroes of the faith also increased the practice of seeking for the prayers and protection of the saints. In the second half of the third century the great dioceses began to draw up *Martyrologies*, containing lists of the martyrs whose memory they cherished. The "birthdays" of the martyrs were celebrated with splendour and their tombs covered with sumptuous churches and surrounded with lamps. It was held, at least by some, that the saints could be specially present to render help near their own graves. Before 325 we find, with the probable exception of a passage in Origen, no address to the saints made by any Christian writer. But such requests are unequivocally supported by S. Basil and S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Gregory of Nazianzum, S. Chry-

[1] For the festivals see Mgr. L. Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 228 ff.

sostom, S. Ephraim, S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine.[1] S. Jerome and S. Augustine carefully distinguish the veneration paid to the saints from the worship and sacrifice which are rendered to God only.[2] In the East it was distinctly taught, in accordance with the liturgies still in use, that it is right to pray for the saints,[3] as well as to request them for their prayers. But S. Augustine, though not himself manifesting an exaggerated devotion towards the saints, regards such prayers for the saints as derogatory to their honour.[4] It is probable that when the phrase "communion of saints" was inserted in the Apostles' Creed, about 400, it implied a relationship of mutual prayer between all the faithful, both on earth and in paradise.

The decisions of the Church concerning the Person of Jesus Christ served to direct attention towards His Virgin Mother. Her faith and her miraculous child-birth had long ago led S. Justin Martyr and S. Irenaeus to contrast Mary's obedience with the disastrous disobedience of Eve. The doctrine that Mary ever remained a virgin, though denied by some ultra-Arians, by Helvidius, and by some Arabians, was strongly upheld by S. Jerome and S. Epiphanius,[5] and by the general sentiment of the Church. The Mother of the Lord was venerated both as His Mother and as a model of virgin purity. S. Epiphanius, while upholding her perpetual virginity, strongly opposes the Mariolatry of a sect of women who offered cakes to her, a sect which he names

Veneration of S. Mary.

[1] Darwell Stone, *The Invocation of Saints*, p. 10 ff.
[2] Hieron. *adv. Vigilant.*: Aug. *de Vera Relig.* 55.
[3] Epiph. *Haer.* 75, 7: Cyril Hierus. *Cat. Mys.* v. 9.
[4] *Sermo*, clix. 1; cclxxxv. 5. [5] *Haer.* 78, 20.

"Collyridians." Imperfections are attributed to the Blessed Virgin Mary by S. Chrysostom and S. Basil, but S. Augustine prefers to think of her as free from all actual sin. It was not taught that she was conceived "immaculate," free from all taint of inherited sin. At the close of the fifth century there existed an apocryphal romance, the *de Transitu Mariae*, in which it was taught that after resting in the grave for three days, the body of Mary was taken up into heaven. This book was excluded from the list of canonical books by Pope Gelasius. And the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin into heaven after death, such as is implied in the present Roman service books, is not found in any theologian of this period, nor was it commemorated in any festival. In fact, the first trace of any belief in a bodily assumption contradicts the later theory that Mary first died and was then removed from the grave to heaven. It is to be found in S. Epiphanius, about 375. In commenting on Revelation, xii. 14, he suggested that she did not die. His words on this verse are: "Perhaps it can find its fulfilment in her. But I do not absolutely declare this, and I do not say that she remained immortal: but neither do I asseverate that she died."[1] The common teaching of the Church in the middle of the fifth century with regard to Mary may be simply summed up in the three points that Mary was ever a virgin, that she was truly *Theotokos* as mother of the incarnate Word, and that her prayers avail for those who are on earth.

[1] *Haer.* 78, 11.

CHAPTER XXIX

MISSIONS A.D. 325 TO 461

ARMENIA, which had received many Christian missionaries in the third century, was won for Christ at the end of that century by S. Gregory the Illuminator. In 261 the Armenians under King Tiridates II. fought against the Persians and secured their own independence. About 286 Gregory, who had escaped as a child during the Persian war to Caesarea in Cappadocia, returned to his native land with a knowledge of Greek and a zeal for Christianity. He converted King Tiridates II., and with the assistance of the Church of Caesarea created twelve bishoprics. The king endowed the Church, and made the Church of Armenia the first established national Church in Christendom. As early as 312 the Roman emperor Maximinus made war on Armenia in the vain hope of forcing the inhabitants to abandon their faith. Until the time of S. Nerses, the Armenian Catholicos, or principal bishop, was always closely associated with Caesarea. But S. Nerses, who was the S. Thomas Becket of Armenia, tried to Hellenise his Church, and was consequently poisoned by King Pap in 374. The Armenian Church then became completely independent, but the gain of religious autonomy in Armenia was immediately followed by the loss of political

Armenia.

independence. Rome and Persia divided Armenia between them, 385.

The Church might have perished if it had not been for the famous Catholicos S. Sahak, the last and greatest Catholicos of the race of the Illuminator (390–439). In his time Mesrob invented an alphabet for the Armenian language, and with the help of Sahak he made a new version of the Bible into Armenian to replace the older version based upon the Syriac. A national literature and Armenian schools sprang into life. The Persians opposed the new culture, the Romans favoured it, and thus the Armenian Church was once more in close connection with the eastern part of the Roman Empire. When the Armenian royal race became extinct in 428 it was the Catholicate and the alphabet that saved Armenian nationality.

The Armenians repudiated Nestorianism, following the advice of Proclus, to whom they sent a deputation at Constantinople. They were less fortunate with regard to Monophysitism. At the time of the Council of Chalcedon they were engaged in a fresh war with the Persians, and did not again come into contact with Greek ecclesiastical affairs until about 490, after the emperor Zeno had pronounced in favour of Monophysitism. The result was that in 505 they condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and although they anathematize Eutyches, they have not until this day recognised the Council. They employ certain phrases of Monophysite origin, and their theology has been influenced by the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus.[1] It is much to be regretted that they cannot unite with

[1] See *Arménie*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris, 1902: Erwand Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, Leipzig, 1904.

the orthodox Easterns while retaining their national rites and customs. Their heroic sufferings for the Christian faith are probably without a parallel.[1]

Georgia.

The people of Georgia or Iberia in the Caucasus were converted in the time of Constantine by S. Nino, one of the few women apostles of early times. The story of her career is found in Rufinus, and in Greek, Armenian, and Georgian ecclesiastical histories. It is said that by her prayers the child of the king of the Iberians was cured of a serious illness. Legend soon added to the story, and according to some accounts, the king began to build a church, but found his efforts frustrated by one of the columns lying immovable on the ground until it was raised by a miracle. The Armenian version of Socrates replaced this by the story of a cross miraculously set up upon a hill. Perhaps the origin of both stories was simply the erection of a large cross to mark a meeting-place for worship before the church was built.[2] The Georgians very soon had a version of the Bible. It was translated from the Syriac, like the first Armenian version. Like the Armenian, this was revised at the beginning of the fifth century with the help of Greek manuscripts. The Georgian Church remained in connection with the Armenian until 608, when in spite of the Armenians the Georgian Catholicos Kiouron accepted the decisions of Chalcedon, and came into connection with the orthodox Greeks.

[1] In the persecutions of 1895 and 1896 alone, 190 Armenian priests who refused to accept Mohammedanism were murdered, 320 churches were turned into mosques and about 100,000 Armenian lay people were massacred.

[2] See *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1901, p. 152.

The Georgians in later times existed as an independent orthodox Church. After suffering cruel persecutions at the hands of the Turks, the Georgian Church and State were voluntarily united with the Russian Church and State in 1811.

The Aghovans, or Albanians of the Caucasus, were converted to Christianity by the Armenians early in the fourth century. They separated from the Armenians in the sixth century, but were soon afterwards reconciled.

Abyssinia.

About 316 a certain Meropius of Tyre, on a voyage of discovery to the countries south of Egypt, was murdered with almost his whole ship's company. Only his two nephews Frumentius and Ædesius were spared. They won the favour of the Abyssinian king, and became the tutors of the heir-apparent, Aizanas. Subsequently, in 338, S. Athanasius ordained Frumentius as bishop of the country. The Church spread rapidly from Abyssinia to Ethiopia and Numidia. The Church of Abyssinia followed its mother Church of Egypt in adopting the Monophysite heresy. It still holds its ground and still obtains its chief bishop from the Coptic Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. But its teaching is extremely debased, and mixed with Jewish practices, such as the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision.

East Syria and Persia.

In the middle of the fourth century Christianity spread throughout East Syria, which contained two provinces, of which the capitals were Edessa and Nisibis respectively. The language of the Church was Syriac, and it had two notable writers in Jacob Aphraates and S. Ephraim. The former is said to have been abbot of a monastery

near Mosul, to have also lived in Edessa and visited Antioch. His twenty-three homilies, written between 336 and 345, show an archaic theology, free from contemporary Greek influence. S. Ephraim lived near Nisibis, and went to Nicaea in 325. He died in 373. Unlike Aphraates, he was in close touch with orthodox Greek theology, and his commentaries and hymns were a powerful means of establishing the Nicene theology in East Syria. He especially exerted himself in refuting the heresies of Marcion Bardesanes and Manes.

In Persia, where Christianity had many converts about A.D. 300, the rule of the Sassanides was for a time lenient towards Christianity, though it also strongly favoured the ancient fire-worship. But the rapid growth of the Church in Persia, its connection with the Roman empire, and Constantine's attempt to pose as the protector of the Persian Christians, ended in a violent persecution in the time of Sapor II. (309–379). The persecution lasted for thirty-nine years, and thousands of Christians suffered martyrdom. Then came an interval of peace and growth; it was followed by another persecution. The emperor Theodosius II. in 422 succeeded in procuring toleration for the Persian Christians, and it would perhaps have been to their interest to have strengthened their ties with the Greek Church. But Nisibis had long ago been detached from the Roman empire by the Persian conquests. The Syrian Persians were conscious of a national spirit; they had in 410 appointed a patriarch of their own at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and in 423 they forbade ecclesiastical appeals to be carried to Antioch. Then came the Nestorian controversy. The Persian Church had been prepared for the reception of Nestorianism by its

connection with Edessa, as is shown by the famous letter written by Ibas of Edessa to the Persian bishop Mares. In 435 a Persian national synod supported Nestorianism, and Barsumas, when expelled from Edessa, propagated the heresy at Nisibis. In 483 the whole Persian Church definitely separated from the Catholic Church, and when the theological school of Edessa, which had been a centre of "Antiochene" theology, was dispersed by Zeno in 489, Nisibis became the *alma mater* of Nestorianism. As a reward for its desertion of the Church of the Roman empire, the Persian Church was granted toleration by the Persian kings. Until the eighth century it displayed an extraordinary literary and missionary activity, and extended to India and China. It suffered terribly from the Mongols and the Moslems, and is now represented almost entirely by the poor "Assyrian Christians" on the borders of Turkey and Persia. The Syrian Christians in southern India are descended from Nestorians. Many of these united with Rome in the sixteenth century, and most of the remainder united with the Monophysite Syrians in the seventeenth century.

The Goths.

During the fourth century vast migrations of barbarians threw entire nations against the borders of the Roman empire. Hordes of Huns pushed westwards and southwards the Germanic races, the chief divisions of which were then the Ostrogoths, or East Goths, and the Visigoths, or West Goths. It was of the greatest importance that these vigorous and warlike races should be attached by as many bonds as possible to the Roman empire. Some Goths had been won to the Catholic faith early in the fourth century, for a bishop of the Goths was present at the

Council of Nicaea. But the Arian emperor, Constantius, and his court bishop, Eusebius, sought for a man who should Christianise the Goths more thoroughly, and in 341 Eusebius consecrated a bishop of the Goths.

This man was Ulfila. He was born about 311, and though he was the offspring of a Cappadocian family, his Teutonic name ("Little Wolf") shows that one of his parents must have been a Goth. His mixed parentage enabled him to preach in both Greek and Gothic, and he also taught himself Latin. For seven years he worked among the West Goths in Dacia, with such success that the heathen Goths began to persecute the Christians with the greatest violence. He crossed the Danube, and Constantius assigned him a dwelling-place on Mount Haemus, where he ruled for several years over the Goths who had accompanied him into exile. In the meantime the Goths in Dacia were embroiled in a feud between two chieftains named Athanaric and Fritigern. The latter invoked the help of the emperor Valens, and obtained it on condition of his accepting the emperor's own Arian Christianity. Athanaric retaliated by violently persecuting the Christians who were subject to his sway. These events happened between 370 and 372. Soon afterwards the Huns, far more barbarous than the Goths, rushed like a whirlwind upon the Ostrogoths. The latter were forced into the lands of the West Goths, who thereupon split into two sections. The party of Athanaric went to the north-west; the party of Fritigern went into Thrace, and were completely won for Arian Christianity by Ulfila. In 380 the old heathen champion Athanaric was driven by the quarrels of his people

Ulfila.

to seek the help of Rome, and the emperor Theodosius, who keenly realised the value of a Gothic rampart around his empire, gave him the hand of friendship on the condition that he became a Christian. He accepted the condition imposed, and though he was allowed to become an Arian like the rest of his people, Theodosius began to take measures for the absorption of the Goths into the Catholic Church. In the meanwhile, in 383, died Ulfila, whom Constantius had not unfitly named the "Moses" of his people. Ulfila left behind him certain commentaries in Greek, Latin, and Gothic. But his great literary work was a translation of the Bible into the Gothic language, for which he had invented a Gothic alphabet. In doctrine Ulfila followed the Homœan Arianism of Eusebius and the imperial court, and his translation of the Bible is based on the recension of Lucian of Antioch, one of the forerunners of Arianism. He had probably never really known Christianity in any other form than Arianism. And by an extraordinary providence he was made into an instrument by which the Gothic races, without ceasing to feel that they were Goths, became Christian; first in his own imperfect sense of the word, and then ultimately in accordance with the faith once delivered to the saints.[1]

The death of Theodosius in 395 and the partition of his empire between his two sons encouraged the Visigoths to extend their power. Under Alaric they devastated Greece and took Rome in 410. Two years later Athaulf led the Visigoths into Gaul, and in 413 the Burgundians, another Germanic tribe, secured part of Gaul near the

Germanic Christianity.

[1] For the Goths see T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. i. and ii.

Rhine. Both the Visigothic and the Burgundian kingdoms were Arian. Arian also were the Vandals, who founded an empire in Africa in 429, and the Rugians, who settled in what is now Lower Austria. Most of these Arians, and the Arian Visigoths in Spain, persecuted the Catholics persistently. The Ostrogoths in Italy, though also Arian, were more tolerant. But the broad fact remains that Arianism was professed by the larger part of the Germanic world and assumed the character of a national Germanic form of Christianity, opposed to the religion of the Roman empire. There was therefore a real danger that among these nations the three Persons of the Holy Trinity should be permanently adored as one God and two demi-gods. And the close relation between such a form of Christianity and undisguised heathenism is well illustrated by the authentic story of a Goth, who said that he saw no harm if a man in passing a church of God and an altar of a heathen god, made a reverence towards them both. From such disasters Europe was rescued by the conversion of Chlodowig, king of the Franks, in 496, and Reccared, king of the Spanish Visigoths, in 589.

Gaul.

In southern Gaul, the country of S. Irenaeus, Christianity had long been firmly fixed, and the Gallic Church felt most of the great movements which affected the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries. In the Arian controversy, S. Hilary of Poitiers had distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to Constantius, by the learning and moderation of his theological works, and by the hymns which he wrote to counteract heresy. Priscillianism entered Gaul about 380, and was condemned at

Bordeaux and Trier. Pelagianism found a supporter in the monk Leporius; and in Gaul an influential party was formed which, while avoiding much that was taught by Pelagius, would not accept without modification the doctrine of S. Augustine. To this mediating party belonged Cassian and Vincent of Lerinum, who also contributed greatly towards the success and consolidation of monasticism in Gaul. The monks did much to spread Christianity in wild and pagan neighbourhoods, although they were regarded with some jealousy by the authorities of the Church. Cassian, in fact, recommended monks to beware of both women and bishops. In intellectual power some of the Christians of Gaul were men of leading; Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus of Nola, and Sidonius Apollinaris were distinguished for elegance of style; and ruder writers, such as Salvian, at least thought and felt and had something to say. The bishops were often aristocrats. In the midst of the barbaric invasions the Gallo-Roman population wished to be guided by bishops who were fitted to defend them by their position and their training. Such were Germanus of Auxerre, Eucherius of Lyons, and Salonius of Geneva.

Paganism remained strong to the fourth century. Christianity was still unfashionable among the upper classes. And in many districts the mythology of the Celts had obtained a new lease of life by amalgamating with the mythology of the Romans. The Gaulish god Lug was identified with Mercury, and the local divinities, whom the Celts called "mothers," were identified with the Roman Parcae, called by the Latin name *Fata*, and still survive as "fays" or "fairies." It needed an ardent

S. Martin.

evangelisation to carry Christianity into the rustic classes. In this evangelisation S. Martin of Tours eclipsed all other missionaries. He was born at Sabaria, in Pannonia. Converted to Christianity, he entered the army, living a chaste and sober life. When still a soldier he cut his cloak in twain with his sword on a winter day at Amiens in order to give half of it to a poor man. When he left the army he went to Hilary of Poitiers and became his pupil in the religious life. In 372 he was chosen by the people, against his will, to be bishop of Tours. He was neither a theologian nor an orator, but a soldier-bishop and evangelist, who waged a steady war against heathenism. He established a monastery at Marmoutier, and with absolute fearlessness he went into the very strongholds of pagan superstition and destroyed its most venerated sanctuaries. He worked mostly in the centre of France, and won crowds of converts. At Tours he induced a cruel official to release some prisoners condemned to death, at Trier he refused to sit at table with the usurper Maximus, and he disapproved of the manner in which other bishops urged Maximus to punish the Priscillianists by the arm of the civil law. He died at Candes in 397, and left behind him worthy fellow-labourers like Victricius of Rouen to continue his work.[1]

Great Britain.

The existence of an organised Church in the southern part of Great Britain is proved by the presence of the British bishops of York, London, and (probably) Caerleon on Usk at the Council of Arles. "During the rest of the 'Roman period' the Church of Britain shows like a valley

[1] For Gaul see Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de la France*, tome ii. fasc. 1.

wrapt in mists, across which some fitful lights irregularly gleam. We know nothing of its episcopal succession, very little of its internal life, or of its efforts at self-extension."[1] But we possess strong testimony to the orthodoxy of the British Church during the terrible struggle of Christianity against Arianism. The faith of the Britons is testified by S. Hilary, S. Chrysostom, and S. Jerome. It is true that the very next summer after S. Hilary, in 358, had congratulated the British bishops on their belief, some British bishops took part in the Council at Ariminum, where, like others, they were cajoled into accepting a formulary which they did not fully understand. But they appear to have returned to the Catholic position, for in 363 S. Athanasius himself states that the British Churches had signified by letter to him their adhesion to the Nicene faith.[2] On the other hand, Pelagius, who was either British or Irish, denied the necessity of internal grace in the soul, and thereby roused one of the greatest controversies of the ancient Church. His errors met with some favour in Britain, especially among the wealthy laity, and the Church appealed to the sister Church of Gaul to send some theologians to her aid. In answer to this appeal there came, in 429, S. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes. These Gallic divines preached vigorously against the new heresy in churches, streets, and fields, and discomfited the Pelagians in a debate at Verulam. The bishops, before returning to Gaul, visited the town of S. Alban, and Germanus secured for Auxerre a mass of earth which was believed to bear traces of the martyr's blood. Far stranger is

[1] W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 10 (2nd edit.).

[2] *Ep. ad Jov. Imp.* 2.

the picturesque story of the "Alleluia Victory." It is told that a combination of Picts and Saxons menaced the British, and Germanus and Lupus encouraged the Britons to resist. At Easter, 430, the Britons, many of whom had been just baptised, advanced against the enemy, led by a "duke of Armorica." Germanus bade the Britons shout the word "Alleluia," which he and Lupus intoned. Their followers made the sound echo through the valley in which they were posted, and the enemy fled in panic at the crashing noise. Tradition places the scene near Mold, in Flintshire. Germanus visited Britain again in 447 with Severus, bishop of Trier, and reclaimed the few who had relapsed into Pelagianism.

Although the Britons were evidently disposed to welcome the Christian faith, it was several centuries before the Church had really penetrated into the western mountains and glens of even southern Britain. The oldest churches in Wales were dedicated in commemoration of their founders, and a rich variety of these titles still exists. But at the beginning of the eighth century this practice was superseded in favour of dedication to S. Michael. And as the churches bearing this dedication are almost always to be found in mountainous regions, we can conjecture the date when Christianity became organised in those districts. In the South of England some remains of Christian ecclesiastical architecture previous to 420 exist at S. Martin's, Canterbury, and elsewhere. But in some ways the most interesting remains are those at Silchester in Hampshire. The excavations at Silchester have uncovered both the traces of Roman temples and the foundations of a Christian church. It is a diminutive

basilica, with side aisles, a narthex or portico, and a semicircular apse containing a square of mosaic on which the altar was placed. It is of a thoroughly Roman type, like the earliest Saxon churches in the South of England, and unlike the earliest Saxon churches in the North of England, which have the square east end favoured by the Celts. The ritual of the British Christians, like that of the Irish, was more akin to that of Gaul than that of Rome (see p. 442).

Brittany.

At the close of this period the invasions of the Picts and the Saxons drove large numbers of Britons across the sea to Brittany, whither they carried their own Cymric language and Christian faith. Many of the early saints and bishops of Brittany came from our shores, and their names have been accurately identified. So early as 461 we hear of a "bishop of the Britons" attending a Council at Tours. It does not seem that the Gallo-Roman prelates at Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes had done much to convert the native Celts. That was done almost wholly by missionaries from Britain who followed the Christian refugees.

Scotland.

The beginnings of Christianity in Scotland date back to Romano-British times. The oldest monuments of that Christianity are certain carved stones at Kirkmadrine, in Wigtonshire, which have survived all the religious storms which have swept over North Britain from the fifth century to the twentieth. They display the monogram of Christ surrounded by a circle, and one bears a Latin inscription to the memory of two "holy and eminent priests, that is Viventius and Mavorius." These stones are far older than the missionary work of S. Columba and

his Irish monks. And they belong to a region where Bede and Aelred and popular Scottish tradition fix the labours of S. Ninian. He was probably born about 350, on the Solway. His father was a Christian of high rank, and Ninian was baptised in early life. He was anxious to receive a Christian training at Rome, and reached that city during the pontificate of Damasus. He is said to have been consecrated to the episcopal office by the bishop of Rome himself in order to labour among his own people. During his temporary absence from Britain the Roman troops were withdrawn by the usurper Maximus and the country exposed to the ravages of the heathen Picts and the Scots from Ireland. It is probable that these barbarians were very hostile to the work of one so closely associated with the religion and civilisation of Rome as Ninian. On his return journey he visited S. Martin of Tours and procured from him masons who should build churches in Scotland. He planted the centre of his missions at what is now the little town of Whithorn, in a country then occupied by the Picts. There he built a stone church, which subsequently gave its name of "Candida Casa" to the bishopric. While building this church he heard of the death of his friend, S. Martin, and under his name he dedicated the structure to Almighty God. Besides labouring in this south-western district of Scotland, S. Ninian is said to have worked among the southern Picts in the middle region of Scotland and in Cumberland and Westmorland. It is told us that his labours were successful, that he ordained presbyters and bishops, and founded a monastery at "Candida Casa." He died at Whithorn and was buried

S. Ninian.

there in his own church. The see and the monastery of "Candida Casa" passed through a very chequered history, but it does not appear that Christianity ever died out in this part of Scotland; and the relics of S. Ninian, popularly called "S. Ringan," were visited by many pilgrims until the sixteenth century.[1]

Ireland.

Prosper of Aquitaine, who went to Rome on a mission to Pope Celestine in 431, asserts under this date that "Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine and sent to the Scots[2] believing in Christ, as their first bishop." Celestine probably chose him for the purpose of securing the Irish Christians against the Pelagian heresy. Tradition asserts that he landed in Wicklow, where he made some converts and built three churches. After labouring in Ireland for less than a year, he departed to North Britain and never returned. His episcopate was probably cut short by death. S. Patrick came to Ireland in 432, and died at Saul, March 17th, 461.[3] He was "a man of work and not of letters, and yet it so happens that he is the earliest Irish writer of whom we can say with confidence that what is ascribed to him is really his." We possess in Irish the "Breastplate" or "Cry of the Deer," which was probably written by S. Patrick, and in Latin the Confession and a letter against Coroticus, which are certainly his. The first is a half-rhymed hymn: legend says that the saint made it when on his way to visit King Laoghaire at Tara, and the assassins who had been planted by the king

S. Patrick.

[1] For Scotland see Dr. John Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland.*

[2] The word "Scoti" for many centuries after this date meant "Irish" only.

[3] The date usually assigned is A.D. 493.

to kill him and his companions thought as he chanted it that it was the sound of a herd of deer passing by, and thus Patrick escaped. His Confession is a kind of *Apologia pro vita sua*, written in barbarous Latin, defending himself against the charge of presumptuousness, asserting that he never received any gifts, and recounting the many times in which God had rescued him. The letter against Coroticus, which is also in rough Latin, is a public letter of righteous indignation written to protest against the action of Coroticus, the Christian ruler of Strathclyde, whose heathen allies had murdered and enslaved a number of Christian captives.

The "Lives" of S. Patrick are numerous. The oldest is that written by Tírechán about 664. It is composed of unfinished memoranda, in which S. Patrick's acts are arranged in the framework of a long circular journey through Meath, Connaught, and Ulster. It is virtually an account of the Churches founded by S. Patrick, based largely on information collected by word of mouth, and put together in order to strengthen the confederacy of communities thus founded, and thereby consolidate the Church against insubordination and royal aggression. Christianity had been introduced into Leinster long before the arrival of S. Patrick, as the oldest traditions show. Patrick himself was a Briton, whose Celtic name was *Su-cat* ("strong in war"). He was the son of Calpurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus a presbyter, and was taken to Ireland as a captive in his seventeenth year. After seven years' captivity he escaped to Gaul, and was ordained at Auxerre, where he was afterwards consecrated as bishop to succeed Palladius. He then returned to Ireland; later writers say that he was sent by Pope Celestine, but Patrick's

own words seem to exclude such a mission. He landed at Wicklow and defied heathen custom by lighting his Paschal fire within sight of Tara before the king's own fire was lighted at that sacred spot. After a triumphant missionary success at Tara he laboured in many parts of Ireland, accompanied by bishops, presbyters, and others, who actively assisted him. In each clerical community which he founded he left a so-called heir or successor in matters of religion, whether bishop or abbot, or both in one. His chief heir was at Armagh, where he founded the first Christian school; and all the communities founded by himself or his disciples formed a confederacy in which Armagh enjoyed a certain pre-eminence. The monastery of Armagh was founded in 444, very soon after S. Patrick had visited Rome and gained the approval of S. Leo.

The Church which S. Patrick modelled, though he did not actually found it, was thoroughly orthodox in teaching, and in some points of ceremonial, such as the use of unleavened wafer-bread and the mixed chalice, it agreed with other parts of Western Christendom. Both S. Palladius and S. Patrick linked Ireland to Western Christendom and more particularly to Rome. The Irish Church assumed that the bishop of Rome was the chief bishop in the one Catholic Church of Christ, as is shown by the celebrated letters of S. Columbanus written about 600. But S. Columbanus, like S. Irenaeus in earlier days, feels himself quite free to admonish the bishops of Rome boldly and plainly. And for a time there was in Ireland as in Britain a distinct tendency in the Church to develop on national lines independently of Rome. The result was that when the missionaries who came from Rome to England found themselves confronted with the customs of the British and the Irish Christians, a stubborn conflict arose. The

Celts had their own method of calculating the date of Easter, their own liturgy, their own mode of chanting, their own monastic rule. They allowed bishops to be consecrated by one bishop instead of three; they probably baptised by a single immersion, and they wore a peculiar tonsure. We must not infer from this that their practices were always devised by themselves. The Celtic method of calculating Easter was that which had been employed at Rome at the beginning of the fourth century, and many of the Celtic liturgical peculiarities have parallels in the other non-Roman rites of the West. But the existence of the Celtic ecclesiastical laws and customs shows that these Churches, owing probably to their remote position, remained for a time autonomous, though there is reason for thinking that S. Patrick directed that ecclesiastical difficulties should be referred to the Roman see. In the seventh century, first southern Ireland, and then northern, accepted the Roman Easter reckoning, and thus began to prepare for the complete submission to Rome and conformity with "the use of the Church of England" which was made in 1172. The wonderful missionary enterprise of the Irish on the continent of Europe during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries is a brilliant testimony to S. Patrick, S. Brigit, and the other early saints of that land which, it was said, "stands at the sunset, as Adam's paradise stands at the sunrise."[1]

[1] For Ireland see article *Patrick*, in *Dict. Christian Biography;* F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church;* J. B. Bury, *Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick*, in *The English Historical Review*, 1902; and *The Life of S. Patrick* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1905).

INDEX

Abgar VIII., king of Edessa, 67
Abraxas, 51
Abyssinia, Christianity in, 428
Acacius of Cæsarea, 259
Achamoth, 54
Acts of Martyrs, 107, 159
Adam, Manichaean doctrine of, 178; S. Augustine on, 351
Adeodatus, 348
Advent, Second, 62, 64
Ædesius, 428
Ælia Capitolina, 182
Ælianus, proconsul of Africa, 235
Aeons, Gnostic, or emanations, 51
Aetius, the Arian, 257
Africa, Church of, 185, 221, 233, 303, 349, 394
Agapé, 18, 202
Agonistici, 304
Alaric, 360
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, 147, 153
Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, 157
Alexander Severus, emperor, 108
Alexandria, catechetical school of, 122, 143, 329; Church of, 100, 122, 243, 328; synods at, 184, 270, 368; theology of, 153, 241, 365
Allegorism, 145, 345
Alogi, 134
Alypius, 348
Ambrose, S., bishop of Milan, 286, 345
Ammonius Saccas, 122, 143, 172
Anastasius, presbyter of Nestorius, 367
Ancyra, synods at, in A.D. 314, 231; in A.D. 358, 258
Anicetus, bishop of Rome, 53, 89
Anomœan Arians, 257
Antioch, Church of, 151, 183, 239, 338; school of, 239, 365; synods at, in A.D. 251, 183, in A.D. 268, 252; schism at, 262, 270, 290, 292; theology of, 365 ff.
Antitheses, Marcion's, 59
Antoninus Pius, emperor, 35
Antony, S., 316
Apocryphal books, 17, 90
Apollinarius, 288, 363
Apollonius, martyr, 40
Apollonius, of Tyana, 107, 212
Apologists, 69;
  Aristides, 70;
  Athenagoras, 75;
  Justin Martyr, 71;
  Tatian, 74;
  Tertullian, 117;
  Theophilus, 75
Apostles, itinerant, 25
Apostolic Church Order, 197
Apostolical Constitutions, 195, 414
Apostolical succession, 23
Arbogast, 299
Archons, Gnostic, 52
Arianism, 237 ff., 251 ff., 270, 279, 291, 431 ff.
Ariminum, council at, 260
Aristides, 70
Aristion, 1
Ariston of Pella, 9
Arius, 239, 243 ff.
Arles, councils at, 186, 235; primacy of, 396

Armenia, 223, 425
Arsenius, 247
Artemon, 135
Asceticism, 66, 154, 315 ff.
Asia Minor, Churches of, 1, 101, 128, 149, 165, 184, 223, 385
Athanaric, 431
Athanasius, S., 242, 248, 250, 256, 270, 280
Athenagoras, 75
Audientes, 409
Augustine, S., bishop of Hippo, 344 ff.
Aurelian, emperor, 170
Aurelius, Marcus, emperor, 37
Autolycus, treatise to, 75
Auxentius, bishop of Milan, 278

Babylas, bishop of Antioch, 157, 269
Bahram I., king of Persia, 177
Baptism, 21, 203, 402
Bardesanes, 67
Barlaam and Josaphat, 70
Barnabas, Epistle of, 17
Basil, bishop of Ancyra, 258
Basil, S., bishop of Neo-Caesarea, 281, 283, 320
Basilides, 51
Beryllus of Bostra, 192
Bethlehem, Jerome at, 332 ; worship at, 419
Bishops, 23, 86, 192, 382
Blandina, martyr, 38
Britain, Christianity in, 103, 186, 435
Buddha, in Manichaean teaching, 179
Bythus, or "Abyss," Gnostic, 53

Caecilianus, bishop of Carthage, 222, 234
Caelestius, 356, 358
Caesarea in Palestine, 182, 245, 387
Caesarea in Cappadocia, 281, 284, 385, 386
Caesarians, 111, 112
Cainites, 56
Caius of Rome, 102, 155
Callistus or Callixtus, bishop of Rome, 104, 136, 138, 141
Canon, of New Testament, 16, 92, 410
Caracalla, emperor, 106
Carpocrates, 53
Carpus, bishop of Thyatira, martyr, 38
Carthage, Church at, 102, 160, 185, 234, 303, 347 ff. ; councils at, 161, 358, 395, 410
Cassian, 322, 434
Catechetical School of Alexandria, 122, 143, 329
Catechumens, 205, 402
Celestine, bishop of Rome, 368, 373, 395
Celsus, 42
Cerdo, 50
Cerinthus, 48
Chalcedon, council of, 378
Chalice, mixed, 19, 417
Chiliasm, 155
Christ, Person of, in Christian theology, 81, 132, 243, 288, 363
Chrysostom, S. John, 337 ff.
Church Orders, 195 ff.
Church, organisation of, 22, 86, 181, 382
Circumcellions, 304
Clement of Alexandria, 122, 199
Clement of Rome, S., 17, 23, 193
Clementine literature, 13, 17, 198
Clergy, laws respecting, 313
Commodus, emperor, 39
Competentes, 403
Confession, sacramental, 139, 406
Confessions of S. Augustine, 346
Constans, emperor, 250, 255
Constantia, sister of Constantine, 246
Constantine, emperor, 225 ff.
Constantine II., emperor, 250
Constantinople, Church of, 233, 250, 261, 293, 327 ff. ; Arian council at, 261 ; Œcumenical council at, 292 ; jurisdiction of, 385, 398
Constantius Chlorus, 210, 216, 226

Constantius, emperor, 250 ff., 265, 295
Cornelius, bishop of Rome, 162
Corona Militis, Tertullian's, 106
Councils, origin of, 182 ff.; development of, 235, 244, 311, 383 ff.
Creation, Gnostic theories of, 46, 48, 54
Creeds, early, 22, 95; Nicene, 245; Arian and Semi-Arian, 251 ff.; Constantinopolitan, 293, 379
Crescens, philosopher, 41
Crucifixion forbidden, 230
Cucusus, Chrysostom exiled to, 342
Curubis, Cyprian sent to, 167
Cyprian, S., 160 ff.
Cyprus, Church of, 388
Cyril, S., bishop of Alexandria, 364, 368 ff.
Cyril, S., bishop of Jerusalem, 258, 379

Damasus, bishop of Rome, 289, 297, 332, 391, 439
Daniel, Book of, 137, 175
"Dated" Creed, 260
Deacons, 23
Deaconesses, 403
Decius, persecution by, 156 ff.
De Civitate Dei, Augustine's, 360
"Dedication" Creed, 252, 260
Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, 143
Demiurge, 54, 67
Desposynoi, 9
Dianius, bishop of Caesarea, 284
Diatessaron, Tatian's, 67, 92
Didaché, 17 ff.
Didymus the Blind, 329
Diocletian, emperor, 209 ff.
Diodore, bishop of Tarsus, 366
Diognetus, Epistle to, 75
Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, 148, 163, 183
Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, 67
Dioscorus, archbishop of Alexandria, 375, 377
Diospolis, synod at, 357
Disciplina Arcani, 206
Discipline, penitential, 27, 138, 405
Docetism, 46, 51
Domitian, emperor, 32
Domnus, archbishop of Antioch, 375
Donation of Constantine, 225
Donatists, 221, 233, 303, 349
Donatus of Bagai, 303, 304
Donatus of Casae Nigrae, 221, 234
Donatus the Great, 303

Easter, question of observing, 127, 244, 302
Ebionites, 10
Edessa, Church of, 98, 183, 428
Edicts: of Decius, 156; of Diocletian, 213; of Galerius, 217; of Gallienus, 169; of Maximinus Daza, 215; of Valerian, 153; of Milan, 218
Egypt, rise of Christianity in, 1, 100, 184
Egyptian Church Order, 197
Elagabalus or Heliogabalus, emperor, 103
Elkesai, Book of, 13
Elvira, council of, 324
Emanations, Gnostic theory of, 51
Encratites, 66
Ephesus, Church at, 1, 96, 100, 128; Œcumenical council at, 370; "Brigand Council" at, 377; jurisdiction of, 385
Epiphanius, S., bishop of Salamis, 301, 335, 417, 423, 424
Epiphany, festival of, 420
Episcopacy, origin of, 23; safeguards the Church, 86
Essene Ebionites, 12
Ethics, Christian, 27, 77, 230, 407
Eucharist, 19, 199, 411
Euchites, 318
Eudoxia, empress, 340
Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, 261, 279
Eugenius, usurper, 299
Euphrates, bishop of Cologne, 254
Eusebian coalition, 245, 251

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, 225, 240, 245
Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, 240
Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, 239, 246, 249
Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, 240, 246
Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, 319
Eustochium, ascetic, 332
Eutropius, historian, 225
Eutyches, 375
Euzoius, 262, 280
Evagrius, Ponticus, 330
Eve, parallel between Mary and, 423

Fabian, bishop of Rome, 162
Fabius, bishop of Antioch, 163, 183
Fatâk Bâbak, 177
Felicissimus, 161
Felicitas, African martyr, 105
Felix, anti-pope, 256
Felix, bishop of Aptunga, 222, 236, 349
Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, 166
Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, 375, 378
Free will, doctrine of, 355
Friday, as a fast day, 29, 409
Fronto, of Cirta, philosopher, 41
Fundanus, Minucius, proconsul of Asia, 34

Galatia, 1, 61
Galen, his testimony to Christian morals, 79
Galerius, emperor, 215, 217
Gallienus, emperor, 169
Gaul, Church of, 103, 186, 307, 359, 394, 396, 433; persecution in, 38
George, intruding bishop of Alexandria, 256, 263
Gnosticism, 45 ff.
Gordian emperors, 110
Gorgonius, chamberlain of Diocletian, 209
Gospels, authenticity of, 16, 130; canon of, 92
Goths, 290; conversion of, 430
Gratian, emperor, 296
Gregory I., S., Pope, 392
Gregory, S., the Illuminator, 425
Gregory, S., of Nazianzum, 282, 291, 292
Gregory, S., of Nyssa, 285
Gregory, S., Thaumaturgus, 149
Gregory, intruding bishop of Alexandria, 250, 255, 263

Hadrian, emperor, 33
Hadrianople, battle of, in A.D. 313, 219; in A.D. 378, 290
Hebrews, Gospel according to, 10, 13, 17
Hegesippus, 10, 89
Heliogabalus, 108
Helvidius, 325, 332
Heraclas, 143
Heracleon, 53
Hermas, *Shepherd* of, 17, 28, 57, 92, 138
Hexapla, 145, 334
Hierapolis, 1, 129
Hieracas, 316
Hierocles, 212
Hilary, of Arles, 396
Hilary, S., of Poitiers, 241, 279, 344
Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, 392
Hippolytus, S., 137; Canons of, 196
Holy Places, pilgrimages to, 182, 387
Holy Spirit, doctrine of, 288
Homilies, Clementine, 13, 189
Homœans, 259
Homo-ousios, 152, 245, 246, 257
Homoi-ousios, 258
Honorius, emperor, 349
Hormuz, king of Persia, 177
Hosius, bishop of Cordova, 227, 241, 258
Hypatia, 274
Hypostasis, 281

Ialdabaoth, 56
Idacius (or Hydatius), 306
Ignatius, S., bishop of Antioch, 17, 20, 24, 187

Illyricum, 394, 397
Incarnation, doctrine of. *See* "Jesus Christ"
Incense, in Christian worship, 417
India, 100, 381
Innocent I., Pope, 392
Irenaeus, S., bishop of Lyons, 86 ff., 103, 113 ff.
Isis, 4
Ithacius, 307

James, S., 23, 87
Jerome, S., 321 ff., 331 ff., 357
Jerusalem, destructions of, 6; Church of, 9, 182, 233, 335; jurisdiction of, 387
Jesus Christ, doctrine of His Person, 81, 132, 243, 288, 363
"Jesus," Gnostic views of, 49, 52, 53; Manichaean views of, 179
Jewish Christians, 9 ff.
Jews oppose Christianity, 8
John, S., authenticity of his works, 16, 114, 130
John the Presbyter, 1, 148
Jovian, emperor, 277
Jude, S., the Lord's brother, descendants of, 9
Julian, emperor, 264 ff.
Julius, bishop of Rome, 251, 253
Justin Martyr, S., 19, 21, 34, 37, 71

Kiss of peace, 412

Labarum, 231
Laity, powers of, 191 ff.
Lactantius, apologist, 209, 213, 228, 273
Lampsacus, synod at, 280
Laodicea, Paschal controversy at, 128; synod at, 410
Lapsi, 160, 220 ff.
Latrocinium, "Brigand Council," 377
Leo, S., bishop of Rome, 376, 395
Leonides, father of Origen, 142
Libanius, sophist, 272
Libelli pacis, 161
Libellatici, 161
Liberius, bishop of Rome, 256, 259
Licinius, emperor, 216, 227, 231
Linus, bishop of Rome, 86
Liturgies, 199, 411 ff.
Logos, doctrine of, 81, 239 ff., 289
London, 435
Lord's Day, observance of, 19, 199, 230, 297, 411 ff.
Lucian, martyr of Antioch, 153
Lucian, chamberlain of Diocletian, 209
Lucian, heathen satirist, 41
Lucifer, bishop of Calaris, 256
Lyons and Vienne, martyrs of, 38

Macarius, commissioner, 304
Macarius, presbyter, 247
Macedonianism, 288
Macrina, grandmother of S. Basil, 283
Macrina, sister of S. Basil, 283
Macrostich Creed, 254
Madaura, persecution at, 102
Majorinus, rival bishop of Carthage, 222, 305
Mammaea, empress, 108
Manes, 177
Manichaeans, 176, 212, 305, 347
Marcellus of Ancyra, 248, 250, 254
Marcia, 40
Marcian, emperor, 378, 398
Marcion, 58, 91
Marcus, a Manichaean, 307
Mardonius, tutor of Julian, 264
Marriage, 401
Martin, S., bishop of Tours, 322, 434
Martyrs honoured, 422
Mary, the Blessed Virgin, 423
Maurice, S., 107
Maxentius, emperor, 216, 218
Maximian, archbishop of Constantinople, 373
Maximian, emperor, 210 ff.
Maximilla, Montanist prophetess, 62
Maximinus the Thracian, 110
Maximinus Daza, 215, 219

Maximus, usurper, 307
Melchiades, or Miltiades, bishop of Rome, 220, 234
Meletian schism, 220
Meletius, bishop of Antioch, 262, 292
Melito of Sardis, 61
Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, 370, 372
Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, 221
Milan, first bishops at, 102; edict of, 218; council at, 255; Church of, 279, 286, 293; liturgy of, 293, 416
Millenarianism, 155
Milvian Bridge, battle at, 218
Minucius Felix, apologist, 76
Missa Catechumenorum, 411; — *Fidelium*, 412
Monarchianism, 133, 150
Monasticism, 315
Monnica, S., 346, 348
Monophysites, 380
Montanism, 61, 119, 302
Muratorian Fragment, 93

Nazarenes, 10
Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, 293, 406
Neo-Platonism, 143, 172, 266, 347
Nereus and Achilleus, SS., 107
Nero, persecution under, 30
Nestorianism, 363 ff., 429
New Testament, Canon of, 16, 90, 410
Nicaea, council of, 244; creed of, 245, 293, 379
Nicé, creed of, 260
Nicolaitans, 49
Nicomedia, 213
Noetus, 135
Novatian, 162
Novatianism, 163 ff., 302, 367
Novatus, 161

Oak, the, synod at, 340
Œcumenical Councils, 244, 292, 370, 378, 388
Ogdoad, 53, 54
Old Testament, 5, 50, 82
Ophites, 55
Origen, 142 ff.
Origenistic controversy, 329 ff.
Original sin, doctrine of, 352

"Pagan," meaning of, 107
Paganism, in the first and second centuries, 3, 41, 43, 69 ff.; in the third century, 175, 211; in the fourth century, 266, 295 ff.
Palut, bishop of Edessa, 183
Pamphilus, 150, 216
Pantaenus, 100, 123
Papacy, growth of, 188, 253, 389 ff.
Papal infallibility, 141, 191, 259
Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, 1, 17, 155
Paraclete, Montanist doctrine of, 63
Paschal controversies, 126, 244, 302
Patrick, S., 440
Patripassian heresy, 135
Paul, S., Epistles of, 16
Paul of Samosata, 151
Paul, bishop of Constantinople, 250
Paula, ascetic, 332
Paulicians, 152
Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, 262, 292
Pelagianism, 355
Penitential discipline, 27, 138, 405
Peregrinus Proteus, 41
Perpetua, S., martyr, 105
Persecution, to A.D. 192, 30; from A.D. 193 to 250, 99; from A.D. 302 to 313, 213
Persia, Christianity in, 183, 428
Peter, S., First Epistle of, 16
Peter, bishop of Alexandria, 147, 220
Philastrius, 301
Philip the Arabian, emperor, 111
Philippi, ministry at, 24
Philippopolis, synod at, 253
Philocalia of Origen, 285
Philocalian Kalendar, 420

Philosophoumena or *Refutation*, by S. Hippolytus, 137
Pilate, forged *Acts of*, 218
Pionius, martyr, 8
Pityus, 342
Pleroma, 54, 117
Pliny the Younger, letter to Trajan, 32
Plotinus, 172
Polycarp, S., bishop of Smyrna, 17, 36
Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, 128
Pontifex Maximus, title of, 296
Porphyry, 174
Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, 114
Praetextatus, S., catacombs of, 159
Praxeas, heretic, 135
Priscilla, Montanist prophetess, 61, 62
Priscillianism, 306
Proculus, 104
Prophets, Christian, 26, 62
Prunikos, 56
Psalters, Roman and Gallican, 334

Quadi, invasion of, 39
Quadratus, apologist, 70
Quartodecimans, 128, 367
Quintilla, Montanist prophetess, 61

Ravenna, first bishops at, 102; jurisdiction of, 393
Recognitions, Clementine, 13
Ritual, of baptism, 21, 203, 402; of the Eucharist, 18, 199, 411
Rome, bishops of, 87, 101, 141, 148, 165; theology of, 132 ff., 241, 251, 280, 291, 357, 368 ff.; worship of, 19, 196, 407, 415; sack of, 360; claims to jurisdiction, 127, 188, 254, 389 ff.
Rufinus, 332, 336

Sabellianism, 136, 152, 246
Samaria, 47
Sapor I., king of Persia, 177
Sardica, council at, 253; canons of, 253, 392
Scili, persecution at, 39, 102
Seleucia, council at, 260
Semi-Arians, 258, 280
Semi-Pelagians, 359, 434
Septimius Severus, emperor, 104
Serapeum, destroyed, 299
Serapion, bishop of Antioch, 61, 183
Serennius Granianus, 34
Silvester, S., bishop of Rome, 225, 390
Simon Magus, 47
Siricius, bishop of Rome, 392, 394
Sirmium, councils and creeds of, 255 ff.
Slavery, 80, 401
Smyrna, Church of, 36, 129
Socrates, Church historian, 263
Sophia, Gnostic, 54
Sotas, bishop of Anchialus, 64
Soter, bishop of Rome, 64
Stephen, bishop of Antioch, 254
Stephen, bishop of Rome, 165
Sunday, observance of, 19, 199, 230, 297, 411 ff.
Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, 9, 23
Symmachus, translator, 13
Symmachus, consul, 273, 297
Synods, diocesan, 129, 182, 383; metropolitan, 181, 383

"Tall brothers," 336, 340
Tatian, 67, 74; his *Diatessaron*, 92
Taurobolium, baptism in bull's blood, 22, 176, 267
Teacher, office of, 26
Tertium genus, 78
Tertullian, on Ebionism, 11; on persecution of Christians, 39, 121; as an apologist, 74, 117 ff.; as a Montanist, 65, 119; on Person of Christ, 118, 120; on fasting communion, 200
Thecla, Paul and, Acts of, 66
Themistius, orator, 272
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 366
Theodoret, Church historian, 373 ff.
Theodosius, emperor, 287, 290 ff.
Theodosius II., emperor, 369

Theophilus of Antioch, apologist, 75
Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, 335, 340
Theoctistus, bishop of Caesarea, 143, 182
Theotokos, title of S. Mary, 366
Thundering Legion, 39, 100
Timothy, S., 24
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, 292
Titus, emperor, 31
Titus, bishop of Bostra, 305
Trajan, emperor, 32
Traditores, 221, 235
Trinity, doctrine of, 120, 133 ff., 243 ff., 281, 285
Trypho, Justin's dialogue with, 73
Tyre, council at, 247

Ulfila, bishop of the Goths, 294, 431
Unity of God, 5, 7, 81, 133
Unleavened bread, 417
Ursacius, Arian bishop of Singidunum, 248, 255

Valens, Arian bishop of Mursa, 248, 255 ff.
Valens, emperor, 279, 290
Valentinian, emperor, 277 ff.
Valentinus the Gnostic, 53, 87
Valerian, emperor, 158 ff.
Vandals, 305, 433
Vestments of the clergy, 420
Victor, bishop of Rome, 128 ff., 191
Victory, altar of, 273, 296
Vienne, martyrs of, 38
Virgin, the Blessed. *See* "Mary"
Virginity, 66, 154, 321 ff.
Vulgate, 334

Wednesday, as a fast day, 29, 65, 409
Widows, 321
Women, influence of, 40, 61, 105, 129, 222, 246, 283, 317, 332, 341, 378, 427
Word, doctrine of the, 81, 243, 289, 364
Worship, Christian, 18, 199 ff., 402 ff.

Zeno, emperor, 430
Zenobia, queen, 151, 171
Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, 136, 191
Zoroaster, 179
Zosimus, bishop of Rome, 358, 396
Zosimus, historian, 225

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